

1522/15/1
L. LXVI.

19/6

- 1) BIRCH, J.
- 2) ROGERS, W. R.
Plate wanting

A COPY
OF THE
ANSWER TO THE QUERIES
OF THE
London College of Surgeons,
AND OF
A LETTER
TO THE
COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS,
RESPECTING THE EXPERIMENT OF
COW POX.

BY JOHN BIRCH,
SURGEON EXTRAORDINARY TO THE PRINCE OF WALES,
AND SURGEON TO ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE SECOND EDITION
OF
SERIOUS REASONS
FOR UNIFORMLY OBJECTING TO THE
PRACTICE OF VACCINATION,
&c.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

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PREFACE.

SOME time has now elapsed since the College of Physicians was directed to report on the experiment of Vaccination, and to ascertain why a practice, which had received the sanction of Parliament, instead of encreasing, seemed evidently to decline.

The method the College took was the most unexceptionable that could be devised. The London College of Surgeons was applied to, and a number of queries by their means, was sent to the most respectable practitioners, not only in the metropolis but in every part of this Kingdom.

On the returns to these, and other Queries, the answer of the College of

Physicians has been formed: but those returns have been so imperfect, that it is of importance, the Public should be informed of the real state of the question.

The College of Physicians indeed, though they cannot deny a partial failure of the Experiment, still think themselves justified in recommending it: but it is difficult on any grounds of just reasoning to acquiesce in their decision.

In the answers returned to the Queries issued by the London College of Surgeons, they have been informed of *Fifty-six cases of failure, of Sixty-six of consequent eruption, of Twenty-four of bad arms, and of Three of death*: now these facts alone disprove the assertions made before the House of Commons, on which the vote in favour of Vaccination was passed; and would have been sufficient to have overthrown the practice of Inoculation, when that experiment was first introduced.

The Public however ought to be informed that of more than eleven hundred persons, to whom Queries were addressed by the College of Surgeons, only four hundred and twenty-six returned answers. Why nearly two thirds of those Gentlemen were silent, when so many of them had been, in an early stage of the experiment, the warmest advocates for it, I do not mean to enquire; but I must argue that the College of Physicians, were not authorized to draw any conclusions in favour of Vaccination from the facts before them. If so many cases of Failure, Eruption, and Death, have been admitted from so small a return to the Queries issued, what might have been the number, had all the answers been received? why were not these answers sent? why was not the cause of silence ascertained? or how could so general a conclusion be warranted from such imperfect premises?

These are circumstances of importance toward enabling the Public at large to

form their opinion on the merits of the Experiment. I have therefore thought it a duty to publish my answer to the Questions of the College of Surgeons, and my letter to the College of Physicians. In the last of these I have adduced no less than seven cases of death caused by Vaccination, and occurring not among the inferior orders of Society.

I could add more but for the reasons assigned in the letter itself, to which I refer the Reader.

The cases adduced however are enough to confute the assertions made to the House of Commons, that Vaccination might be safely adopted because it *was never fatal*.

I have been induced to republish "The Serious reasons for objecting to the practice of Vaccination;" because the sale of that Pamphlet convinces me the Public are satisfied that the arguments it contains are

just: and that it has produced some effect, notwithstanding the gross misrepresentations in the Edinburgh Review of January, on the subject of Vaccination.

Did my professional avocations give me time, and did I not think it an hopeless undertaking to answer those, who only write for pay, and care not whom, or what they attack, so long as they may make their book sell, I could easily expose the false reasoning, and still falser assertions advanced in the Article alluded to. As it is, I shall pass it by in silence, satisfied that those opinions alone will ultimately prevail which are supported with truth.

QUERIES, &c.

QUESTION I.

HOW many persons have you vaccinated?

ANSWER.

I have attended several who have been vaccinated, but never vaccinated any myself.

QUESTION II.

Have any of your patients had the small pox?—In the case of every such occurrence, at what period was the vaccine matter taken from the vesicle? How was it preserved? How long before it was inserted? What was the appearance of the inflammation and the variolous eruption?

ANSWER.

I have seen some patients labouring under the natural small pox by inoculation after vaccination; I have also seen patients vaccinated in a variolous atmosphere, with an intention to prevent the small pox, but it did not succeed.

How the vaccine matter was obtained, or how preserved, I cannot take upon me to say; but I conclude the rules prescribed by the Jennerian Society were strictly attended to, as the Operators in all these cases were experienced and approved Vaccinators; and the appearances on the vaccinated arms were such as according to the rules then established, authorized them to declare that due vaccination had taken place; such as would perfectly secure the patient from all danger of small pox.

If however after all, so nice a discrimination is required in taking the matter, and if the wounding of the cutis by the lancet is so dangerous, these circumstances of themselves form an insuperable objection to the practice; since the Vaccinator must frequently rely on the accuracy of another person for the genuineness of the lymph, and consequently the safety of the operation; whereas from *small pox taken in any stage of the disorder, and from any patient whatever, nothing but small pox can be communicated; and the wound of the cutis, though unnecessary, is never productive of fatal effects.*

Besides the many cases of failure in vaccination that have fallen under my own knowledge, I have authentic proofs of similar instances in various parts of the country: and I

learn from the Reports both of the Royal Jennerian, and of the Original Vaccine Institutions, that after the most perfect vaccination some of their experiments have failed: so that their reports confirm my own observations and the observations of others.

QUESTION III.

Have any bad effects occurred in your experience in consequence of vaccination? and if so, what were they?

ANSWER.

I have known several bad effects occur in consequence of vaccination. The case of *Rebecca Latchfield is published: she is not yet well; spring and fall she is usually visited with some eruption or suppuration about the face or arm.

I have also seen more than two cases similar to that of Jowles, in which the face has been principally attacked. By some Vaccinators these eruptions were called Scrophula; but how can this be reconciled with the positive assurance of a justly celebrated Surgeon, on which Parliament implicitly relied, “that nei-

* She lost the sight of one Eye this year.

“ther scrophula, nor any other disease was
 “excited by vaccination?” Besides the singular
 eruptions above mentioned, I have seen
 many others of a very itching nature, and some
 shrivelled, scaly skins, consequent on small pox,
 for the cure of which, in the eruptive stage,
 mercurial remedies have been resorted to.

Capt. Butts of the Navy lost an infant from
 an eruption which took place immediately from
 the affection of the arm.

The cases of Mr. Watts's children are well
 known, and were promised by Dr. Willan to
 be published; why they have been withheld is
 a question I conceive highly worthy the con-
 sideration of the Committee.

I have information from Hertford of five
 cases, where natural small pox has occurred
 after vaccination, in four of which the patients
 died.

In Lambeth Workhouse also several died of
 small pox subsequent to vaccination; so that
 the assertion that vaccination renders the natu-
 ral small pox more mild, seems to be altogether
 void of foundation.

“It is our duty,” says the Original Vaccine
 Institution, “to acknowledge that four or five
 “cases have proved fatal, from the affection of
 “the part vaccinated.”

QUESTION IV.

Is the practice of vaccination increasing, or decreasing in your neighbourhood? If decreasing, to what cause do you impute it?

ANSWER.

The practice of vaccination is certainly decreasing in London, as far as my observation goes; and is falling into disrepute.

In answering the latter part of this query, which calls on me to assign the causes of this decrease in the practice of vaccination, I hope I may be allowed to enter more fully into the business than at first sight I might appear warranted from the query itself.

One of the principal causes of the decline of Vaccination I conceive to be, the disagreement of the two Societies instituted for its support, upon many essential points: for their statements are so discordant, so opposite, that I do not see how any dispassionate person can make up his mind as to the opinion he ought to form, or the guide he ought to follow.

A second cause is, that Dr. Jenner's account of the disorder originating from the greasy heel of the horse, is not satisfactory; and if it were so in point of fact, it would require much persuasion before considerate parents would be induced to communicate to their children a

disorder originating in a poison of such a foul and noxious quality, that in the horse itself is always difficult to manage, and often incurable.

A third cause is the acknowledged uncertainty of the experiment; for it is now admitted by one of the Institutions, and also by a Correspondent of Dr. Willan's, that vaccination must be performed *twice* to insure success. Does not this test imply, that it is difficult to ascertain when vaccination may be depended on?

= The different opinions maintained by the two Societies which have been formed in this metropolis to prosecute the experiment of vaccination, are well known from their Reports; but I must beg leave to remind your Committee, that those Institutions were originally one, which circumstance is of great importance in the present question. Men embarked in the same cause do not separate on slight or trivial grounds of difference. Had the experiment answered with any tolerable degree of accuracy the promises made to Parliament; had there been no failures; no consequent eruptions; no deaths; the Society could not have been split into two; that they are thus divided, is a proof that the experiment is doubtful both in its principles and application.

This is evident from the discordant opinions the two Societies maintain; a discordance not in points of inferior consideration, but of fundamental import. Thus the Royal Jennerian Institution insists on two sorts of Cow Pox, a genuine and a spurious; while the Original Institution maintain there is only one sort, and that a patient must be *twice* vaccinated as a test of security.

The subsequent conduct of the Royal Jennerian Society, was by no means calculated to do away the unfavourable impressions this disagreement excited: it served rather to inspire distrust into the minds of the friends of vaccination, as well as into the public at large; for that society again divided, and opposed its rival Institution, by *handbills delivered in the street,

*A CAUTION.

To persons desirous of obtaining INOCULATION for the Cow Pox Gratis, under the sanction of the

ROYAL JENNERIAN SOCIETY.

Whereas Doctor JOHN WALKER has, under various pretences, obstructed persons going to the central house of this Society; the public are hereby warned to be upon their guard against any insidious representations, the connection between Dr. WALKER and the Society having ceased, and Dr. KNOWLES having been appointed the Resident Inoculator at the Society's house, No. 14, Salisbury Square.

By Order of the Directors and Medical Council,

9th October, 1806.

after the manner of Empirics, and with acrimony incompatible with the consciousness of a good cause. Surely, if the practice of vaccination be not a fallacy, its success will recommend it. The family of the Suttons subdued all opposition to inoculation by success.—How then shall we account for that contemptible and disingenuous production, which would have disgraced the puritanical Zealots of a former age, printed and published at 6s. 6d. per dozen: and sent forth to our Colonies, placed in our Sunday Schools, and exhibited at the several stations of the Jennerian Society? I again repeat, if the Cow Pox were not a fallacy, it could not, it would not have had recourse to such mean expedients as the print I now send for the inspection of the committee.

If the respectable Members of the College of Physicians, who in the first instance subscribed their names to the support of an Institution which stoops to such degrading methods, had been apprized of these proceedings, I firmly believe they would have been earlier led to a more minute investigation of the subject, and have doubted the propriety of upholding by their credit an experiment, that stood in need of such arts, as a liberal profession has

uniformly rejected, and Empiricism only has ventured to resort to.

What will be the opinion of Parliament when these flagrant improprieties are laid before them is easy to imagine.*

The last reason which I shall assign is, that among those who have vaccinated their Children, even though they say they have confidence in the experiment, I have found very few whose confidence is real; a restless, anxious doubt is left behind, a doubt which under the present existing circumstances, no medical man who has made it his business to enquire into the practice of Cow Pox and its results, can fairly remove.

According to my view of the subject, in respect to the consequences of vaccination, I am compelled to declare, that I see new and anomalous eruptions following this disease; eruptions which in the whole course of my former practice I never met with, and which I must conscientiously refer to this novel practice, and to this alone.

* The comparative view of the effects of Small Pox, &c. was sent to the College with this paper, and is now in the hands of one of the Secretaries of State.

In my opinion therefore, the admissions of the Institutions, established under the inspection and protection of so many eminent medical characters, for the express purpose of exterminating the Small Pox by vaccination; go, not only toward refuting the earlier testimonies given by those Gentlemen to the Committee of the House of Commons, but form a sufficient answer to the fourth query of this College—*Why the practice declines in this metropolis, where it has been introduced, and prosecuted with every possible attention, —* BECAUSE THE EXPERIENCE OF SEVEN YEARS, HAS PROVED IT TO BE A FALLACIOUS EXPERIMENT, INCAPABLE OF REALIZING THOSE SEVERAL ADVANTAGES WHICH IT PROMISED TO PARLIAMENT, AND WAS EXPECTED TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED.

(Signed)

JOHN BIRCH.

Spring Gardens,
28th January, 1807.

A LETTER
TO THE COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY
THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS,
TO REPORT THEIR INVESTIGATIONS
CONCERNING
COW POX.

TO THE
COMMITTEE
OF THE
COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

GENTLEMEN,

ON the Report of the Committee appointed to examine into Dr. Jenner's Discovery, Parliament gave a liberal reward, because the Report asserted

“ Vaccination effectually secured the Patient from Small Pox.”

“ That it never was followed by Eruptions ;”

“ And it had never been known to be fatal.”

In the same Sessions a reward of £5000. was adjudged to a Physician for another Discovery to fumigate Ships ; but the Admiralty having lost three vessels by the Experiment, it was thought proper to desist from further trial of it. Perhaps this circumstance may have given rise to the present enquiry, respecting the efficacy of Cow Pox.

2d June

Parliament now demand the reason, why after having been persuaded to give a reward for the discovery, the practice seems to decline? An answer to this plain question is all that is required.

If the Small Pox has been known in several instances to have attacked persons previously vaccinated—If Eruptions and Glandular Complaints have followed Vaccination, so as to have been excited by Vaccination—If death has succeeded so immediately to Cow Pox Inoculation, as to be owing indisputably to it; then we must conclude, That the beneficial effects which the Faculty and the Public were induced to expect from the report of the Jennerian Committee, have not been accomplished; and the total failure of their promises, is the reason why an anxious, restless doubt remains on the minds of parents, as to the propriety of Vaccination: a doubt, which under the present existing circumstances, no medical man, who has made it his business to enquire into the Practice of Cow Pox and its results, can fairly remove.

If any other reason need be assigned for the dislike which the lower class of people have

taken to the practice of Vaccination than their conviction of its inefficacy ; the *Deception* which has been so frequently and injudiciously practised upon them by vaccinating their children, when they relied upon the honor of the operator, that they should be inoculated with Small Pox, might be adduced. This *Deception*, and the too frequent Eruptions and Glandular Tumors which followed, have tended to create a spreading distrust, as well of the honor of the Faculty, as of the soundness of the practice ; and the College of Physicians, who are esteemed from their education and rank in life, the Guardians of that Honor, will doubtless be attentive to this circumstance.

A sufficient number of Failures, of Eruptions, and of Deaths, is evident from the returns made to the College of Surgeons, although in my opinion, the method adopted by that College, was by no means the best for ascertaining the truth.

Fifty-six Failures, Sixty-six Eruptions, Twenty-four Bad Arms, and Three Deaths, are admitted, and these are sufficient to contradict the report of the Jennerian Committee. A similar number would have been sufficient to have overturned the high reputation of Mr. Sutton, and Baron

Dimsdale, each of whom singly inoculated almost as many patients as the whole amount of the vaccinated in the returns of the College of Surgeons.

Perhaps I need not inform the Committee, that very lately the Small Pox appeared in several Parts of Devonshire and Somersetshire, where Vaccination had been practised, and the people insisted on Inoculation, with which some of the Faculty were obliged to comply, seeing the infection spread so fast. That Mr. Goss, of Dawlish, had resorted to a general inoculation, and had submitted his own children, whom he had formerly vaccinated, to the test two of whom received the Small Pox, and one resisted it. That Sir George Dallas's children, two of whom had been vaccinated by Mr. Knight, of London, and one by Mr. Goss, received the infection in the most decided way; and although Dr. Borland and Mr. Ferguson were sent over to explain, yet Inoculation from these Children put the matter beyond a doubt, which otherwise probably would have been objected to, although Small Pox was decidedly characterised by the judgement of Mr. Goss, Mr. Sheldon, and others.

Two Children at Teignmouth, caught the Small Pox after having been formerly Vaccinated.

Similar circumstances have occurred at Wywelscomb, and in its Neighbourhood.

What happened in the Glostershire Militia, and the Parish of Beckshill, in Sussex, where several took Small Pox after Vaccination.

What has happened in the Hertfordshire Regiment, in the Barracks at Hyde Park, in the Parish of Walthamstow; and in Mr. Goslin's family, have probably been reported to the Committee.

If the Committee should have reason to complain that their wishes have not been sufficiently attended to, much necessary intelligence must have been kept back.

Certainly it is not in the English law, to make a man accuse himself; and those must have done so, who have been unsuccessful, if they had answered the queries of our College: therefore it is worthy of remark, that to *eleven hundred letters*, only *four hundred and twenty-six*

answers were received, and the confessions made in these answers must be esteemed voluntary confessions. What would have been the calculation, if the *six hundred and seventy-four* who have not replied, had answered with candour, remains for the consideration of the Committee; and if the failures and accidents of the Apothecaries, Men Midwives, Clergy, and the Ladies, were added to the numeration, I am very well assured it would be striking.

Three deaths were only brought forward; but it will not be difficult to prove that two children of Mr. Watts in St. Mary Axe; one child at Islington; the child of Mr. Haslem, Bethlem Hospital; one of Capt. Butts, R. N. besides Dr. Smith Stewart's, and Capt. J. H. Linzee's, *have fallen victims to the puncture of lancets armed with Vaccine Virus.*

I might add to this fatal list some instances which have occurred in the most respectable families, but the reluctance they feel to have their names made public, as I am not at liberty to use them, compels me to silence.

Although the College of Surgeons have rejected all cases brought forward of persons Vaccinated by one practitioner, and reported to have had Small Pox by another, which ob-

viously sets aside a large portion of evidence, that would otherwise have been adduced; the House of Commons cannot in justice reject them, since their reward was given on a majority of *hearsay* evidence.

The cases Vaccinated by Mr. Knight, and Inoculated by Mr. Goss, cannot therefore be rejected on this plea. It is affirmed that Mr. Knight declared if these cases failed, he would give up Vaccination, and they have been proved by the test of inoculating from them, as recommended by the Committee of the *supposed* Small Pox cases in Holborn; therefore it remains with Mr. Knight to disprove them, or give up Cow Pox.

The proposal I made to the Court of Assistants of the College of Surgery, to investigate this important matter in an *Open* Committee, having been overruled, I think myself at liberty to offer these sentiments to the College of Physicians, from whom the public look for an impartial decision on this momentous subject.

Signed,

JOHN BIRCH.

* In an answer to Q: 3d. of the College of Surgeons, one eminent Practitioner replied, " I presume this Quere does not go to an enquiry of what mischief I have seen in the practice of others."

SERIOUS REASONS,

FOR

UNIFORMLY OBJECTING

TO THE

PRACTICE OF VACCINATION,

&c.

Second Edition,

TO THE
Honorable BARON DIMSDALE,

AS BEST QUALIFIED TO DECIDE
ON THE MERIT OF THE EXPERIMENT

AND THE
TRUTH OF THE ARGUMENT;

THESE REASONS,

ARE

WITH DUE RESPECT,

INSCRIBED

BY

HIS FAITHFUL FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR,

SPRING GARDENS,

JUNE, 1806.

SERIOUS REASONS
FOR
UNIFORMLY OPPOSING
THE
PRACTICE OF VACCINATION,
&c.

THAT the enthusiasm with which Vaccination was at first adopted should subside, and that the Public should express regret that what ought to have been admitted as an experiment only, had been adopted as practice, are circumstances which it was easy to foresee, would sooner or later occur. In all investigations, and in all enquiries, Truth must ultimately prevail. In the present it would have long since prevailed, had not the patrons of Vaccination had recourse to such expedients to interest the passions, and mislead the judgment of the Public, as could hardly fail of obtaining for their system, a temporary kind of success. But the triumph of prejudice, and novelty will always be transient. The

empire of Truth alone is permanent. I entertain no doubt therefore but that we shall soon see what yet remains of popular opinion favourable to the cause of Vaccination, *vanish into thin air* ; and that the speculatists in physic, like the speculatists in politics, will be brought back to the old standard of sober reason, and experience.

Impressed with this conviction I should have patiently awaited the event, and contenting myself with having declared my opinion publicly, should have forborne taking any part in the controversy, had it not been for considerations of humanity, which supersede every other.

Wherever I go I find the minds of parents distracted with doubt, and labouring under gloomy apprehensions. They tell me that the fluctuations of medical opinion concerning the origin, and nature of the Vaccine disease fills them with alarm ; and they say they are in the most fearful state of suspense, dreading lest what they were persuaded to do in the hopes of saving their children from one disease, may not prove the means of plunging

them into another at once novel, and malignant.

Much as I lament their being in so distressing a state of suspense, I cannot wonder at it. For while on the one hand they hear of repeated instances of the failure of Vaccination; on the other they find, that reports from the Jennerian Committee, subscribed by names, some of the highest respectability, are widely circulated, full of seeming arguments and assertions in favour of the experiment; assertions which they have not the means of contradicting; and arguments just plausible enough to excite doubt, but not sufficiently strong to operate conviction. If under these circumstances I can adduce what may enable persons of this description to form a fixed opinion on the merits of Vaccination, and thus rescue them from the misery of uncertainty, I shall consider myself as having discharged one of the most important duties I owe Society.

Such is the primary motive for my writing the following pages: a secondary motive is, that, as the Jennerian Committee have sent me their Report of last January for my sig-

nature, I may candidly tell them why I have hitherto forborne to subscribe it, and why I shall never subscribe it. To this report therefore, and to a very ingenious pamphlet written by Mr. James Moore, certainly the ablest and most candid writer that has appeared in support of Vaccination, I shall confine as much as possible my remarks. The bitterness of invective, and the unhandsome sneers, with which the partisans of Vaccination have assailed their opponents, as they offer no argument, merit no reply.

The Report opens by stating, that the Medical Council appointed twenty-five members of the Jennerian Society as a Committee to enquire into the truth of various cases that had occurred, exciting prejudices against Vaccine Inoculation; and it is the result of their enquiries, that is submitted to the Public.

Now, without calling in question the judgment of the Medical Council, I must observe that it became them, in a matter of such importance, to inform us who these twenty-five persons were. For as the Society is very numerous, comprehending many of both sexes, and of all professions, the Committee might have been formed of persons, not altogether

competent to the task: since evidently, besides what may be called a knowledge of Vaccination, it was necessary there should be likewise a thorough knowledge of medicine. In other words the Public ought to have been assured that the Committee was composed of regular, and experienced physicians and surgeons, before they could be, in reason expected to assent to its decisions: instead of which we have a Committee made up of persons whose very names we are unacquainted with. I confess this circumstance, in my mind throws as much suspicion over the Jennerian Reports, as it would over a verdict in a common court of law to be told, that it was the verdict of a jury, no one member of which the defendant was permitted to challenge; whose names, conditions and character were studiously concealed; and who had never so much as appeared in court during the trial.

This however is not the only circumstance that makes me regard with an eye of suspicion the Reports of the Committee. The several articles of that Report are couched either in a style so dogmatizing, that the Committee seem more intent on imposing a law, than on producing conviction; or else

in terms so vague, and ambiguous, that the reader must be at a loss to obtain any fixed and definitive idea of the subject. The former of these faults I will pass over, as it may be attributed to the force of the conviction entertained by the Committee of the justness of their positions: but the latter as an honest man I cannot, since it has a tendency to mislead, rather than direct the judgment of the Public. Surely the Committee are aware that nothing is more suspicious than the use of equivocal expressions; and that there is nothing the candid disputant more scrupulously avoids. By means of these, confessions of error, extorted by truth, may be made no confessions at all: may be so worded as to produce no effect, and yet carry with them the appearance of candour, and concession. I will instance the truth of this remark in the Ninth and Tenth Article of the Jennerian Report.

The Committee being at last compelled to acknowledge that cases have been brought before them, in which it was incontestibly proved that persons having passed through the Cow Pox in a regular way, had afterwards received the Small Pox; contrive to destroy

the effect of the concession, by the following ambiguous expressions.

“ It is admitted that *a few* cases have been
 “ brought before them, of persons who had
 “ *apparently* passed through the Cow Pox in
 “ a regular way, &c.”

Now, (not to remark on the use of the indefinite word *few*, which may mean five or six, or five or six dozen, for ought we know, when it was so obviously important, and easy to have specified the precise number,) I must observe, that as the passage stands worded, it might seem as if the Committee having seen all the cases of failure in Vaccination that could be produced, found only a *few* they could admit to be genuine. How many cases they did see, I will not take upon me to conjecture: I suspect they did not wish to see many, for if they had, they might have seen, or have had unquestionable testimony of many hundred cases of failure, of which not a *few*, but far the greater part, if not the whole, would have been found conclusive against them.

But it is said, “ *apparently* passed through
 “ the Cow Pox.” What! only apparently?

If the Committee had not been satisfied the patients had *really* passed through the Cow Pox, they neither would, or ought to have admitted the failure of what they call a *few* cases. Why then is the word “apparently” introduced? I can imagine no other cause, than that this equivocal word might serve to qualify the confession of the Committee, and thus make it *appear* less conclusive than it really is.

But this is not all. The Committee proceed to say, that “cases supported by evidence
“equally strong, were brought before them
“of persons having had the Small Pox a
“second time by natural infection.”

Will the Committee pardon me if I remark that they are here guilty of reasoning very unfairly, to say no worse of it. In the one instance they argue from cases *brought before them*: in the other, from the *evidence of cases* brought before them. That is, when a case makes against them they admit no proof but the evidence of their own senses: when it is favourable to their cause, they admit it on the evidence of others. In fair reasoning, in both instances, a similar degree of proof ought to

be required. If cases on the testimony of others are admitted to prove the failure of Inoculation, cases on the testimony of others, should be admitted to prove the failure of Vaccination; and then the Committee will be compelled to state that not merely a few cases, but that many hundred cases of failure have occurred: for many hundred cases are already before the Public of persons who have had the Small Pox after Vaccination, attested by the evidence, not of hasty observers and unscientific Operators, but of able and experienced Practitioners.

But this is not the only instance of unfair reasoning I am to complain of on the part of the Jennerian Committee.

They say, "*In many of the cases* in which "Small Pox has occurred after Inoculation!" *Many of the cases!* This expression I presume is to contrast with the *few cases of failure* admitted in Vaccination, and the Reader is left to infer that cases of failure in Inoculation are of frequent recurrence; than which inference nothing can be more unfounded, more contrary to truth.

For in the first place, if we could grant all the cases that have been adduced on any thing like proof, to attest the recurrence of Small Pox after Inoculation, these, during a period of more than half a century, would not amount to more than three.

But in the second place, the fact itself has been uniformly denied by the best and most able Practitioners. They have always maintained that the Small Pox never has been known to recur after Inoculation; and however the contrary may be assumed by those who have systems of their own to advance, it is considered as one of the invariable Laws of Nature, that, (and if an exception could be proved, I should be justified in saying, *exceptio probat regulam*) a Patient can suffer the Small Pox but once.

I might quote in support of my opinion, that of the celebrated Baron Dimsdale, Dr. Archer, and many others; but it will be of greater authority in the present case to quote the opinion of Mr. J. Moore, the candid supporter of Vaccination, who admits in his Pamphlet, that Small Pox does not recur after Inoculation.

I have dwelt longer on these two Articles, than I probably shall on any of the succeeding, that I might put the Reader on his guard against the false conclusions into which he might otherwise be led, by the ambiguous manner in which the Committee write. And I shall dismiss this part of the subject by saying, that the same inaccuracy of expression, (whether accidental or studied, I presume not to decide) that reigns in this particular instance, reigns throughout the whole of the Report. So that the inference, drawn of old from the artful conduct of a single individual to the craftiness of a whole race, may be applied to the arguments of the Committee,

*Crimine ab uno,
Disce omnes* —————

Let us now follow the Committee to other particulars.—

They proceed to assert, that most of the cases they examined were mistated, or unfounded.

If they allude to the cases mentioned by Mr. Rogers in his Pamphlet entitled, “*Examination of the Evidence before the*

“ House of Commons,” I pledge my word as a man, and my character as a professional person, to prove them all. Nay, further, I pledge myself if more cases are necessary, to produce many, alas! too many more, of Variolous Infection caught after regular Vaccination. But of the abundant number of cases laid before the Public, the majority cannot be either mistated, or unfounded; and if so, the cause of the Committee falls at once to the ground. For granting, (what never can be granted) that only one third of the cases adduced were substantiated, there would remain above one hundred and fifty instances of acknowledged failure: and surely these would be sufficient to convince any dispassionate person, that Vaccination is not, and cannot be a preservative against the Small Pox. What shall we say then, when in addition to this it is proved, that several patients have died of the immediate consequences resulting from the puncture of Vaccination; while on the other hand it never was, or could be with any truth asserted, that similar fatal consequences had in a single instance resulted from the puncture of Small Pox Inoculation? The inoculated patient, if he dies, (which is not one in three hundred in the general irregular mode of proceeding, and not

one in a thousand among observant practitioners,) dies of Small Pox, and of nothing but Small Pox; the appearance of the punctured arm is uniformly the same; and the treatment of it is one of those judicious points in Surgery, peculiar to Baron Dimsdale's method of cure.

The Committee, to exonerate the Society from the censures of repeated failures, state; that many persons not acquainted with the Disease, have undertaken to vaccinate, and that much of the consequent ill success has resulted from this circumstance. But they forget that the principal evidence they themselves adduced to support their cause, before the House of Commons was that of a Clergyman; they forget too that several of the Fanatical Preachers among the Sectaries, have been ever since the most zealous and approved champions of their system, both in their preachings, and practice; together with some Ladies, who have received their instructions from Dr. Jenner himself. So that the same set of people who are disowned, when it is convenient to disown them, are brought forward as good evidence, when it suits the cause. Is not this another instance of that

mala fides, which throws a just suspicion over the cause altogether?

But laying aside these equivocal practitioners, among the ignorant, the Committee, I presume, do not mean to class Mr. Wachsell, Apothecary to the Small Pox Hospital; or Mr. Ring, the Accoucheur; and yet from the patients vaccinated by these two persons, I would bring instances, if the House of Commons were again to demand it of me, of more failures, more deaths, and more diseases than have occurred in the practice of any other two persons who have come within my knowledge.

It is further asserted by the Committee, that when the Small Pox occurs after Vaccination, it is more mild than usual, and loses some of its characteristic marks; but in many cases in which it recurs after Inoculation, or the natural disease, it is particularly severe, sometimes fatal.

This article appears to me extremely objectionable and disingenuous. For, not to mention the improper use of the words, *many cases* of the recurrence of the Small Pox; the Com-

mittee here argue from an assumption of their own, which as fair, and honest reasoners, as men having no other object than the investigation of truth, they never ought to have done. Their assertion is, that though Small Pox does sometimes recur after Vaccination, this circumstance is not to create any alarm; for when it does return, it is so mild that even its existence is doubtful; whereas in *many cases* in which it recurs after Inoculation, it is particularly severe and often fatal. Thus arbitrarily to assume the fact, that Small Pox does occur after Inoculation, a fact denied by the Advocates of Vaccination themselves, and then to build on it an argument in favor of their system, is in my mind a mode of proceeding bordering on criminality. For if the Committee were addressing their Reports to Medical Men only, no great mischief would ensue, since the fallacy would be immediately detected, and any argument built upon it would of course fall to the ground. But as the Committee are addressing their Report to Parents, who being ignorant of the history of Diseases, are compelled to rely implicitly on those who profess to tell them the truth, they ought to have remembered it was a solemn duty in their statement of the

case, to have “turned neither to the right hand, nor to the left.” They ought to have told their readers, that the recurrence of Small Pox after Inoculation was a fact, supported by such slender evidence, so contrary to the laws of nature, and so generally discredited, that when it does occur, as is supposed a second time, this is considered as a proof that the disorder which the patient had in the first instance, was not the Small Pox. That the Committee therefore omitting all this should boldly beg the question, and argue from that as proved, which is one of the points in dispute, is such an instance of unfair reasoning as perhaps it would be difficult to parallel.

The assertion of the Committee in the XXth article, that the * Diseases which are said to originate from Cow Pox are scrophulous, and cutaneous, and similar to those which arise

* The words of the Committee are—“Complaints represented as the effects of Vaccine Inoculation, when in fact they originated from other causes.” This is another instance of the bold manner in which the Committee assert, to get rid of difficulties. What proof is advanced that the complaints did originate in other causes? None but the *ipse dixit* of the writer.

from Inoculation, is according to my observation quite incorrect. Many of the eruptions are perfectly novel. As far as my experience and my information go, I will venture to affirm they are eruptions of a nature unknown before the introduction of Vaccination; and peculiar to those who have been Vaccinated. Such was the case of the child in Jermyn Street: such was that of a child near Guildford vaccinated by Dr. Elliot; and of many more whose names, from respect to the parents, I forbear to mention.

As for Latchfield's child, that case differed as much in every essential characteristic from Scrophula as possible. The first appearance, the encrease, the colour of the suppurating part, and the indelible dark Eschar, all marked a new, and undescribed disease. Scrophula is a useful name on various occasions. But its symptoms are well known and defined; they cannot long be confounded with those of any other disease: and when a little experience shall have made the distinction clear, then, if I mistake not, many a babe whose parents transmitted to it the fibres of health, and vigour, shall lament the dire effects of unsatisfactory experiment; while those who

may escape the ravages of any new disorder, will still tremble least that dreaded evil, the natural Small Pox, which they sought to avoid, should in a luckless hour overtake them.

It is not my intention to pursue further the Report of the Jennerian Committee. I have answered whatever applies materially to my argument: to expose all the errors and fallacies it contains, would be a painful task: I should however be unjust to the Public and myself, did I not state, that besides those I have already noticed, there are in it assertions so unfounded, and expressions so ambiguous, that these alone would have deterred me from subscribing it.

Thus in Article XVI. it is said, that by means of Vaccination, the Small Pox has in some populous Cities been wholly exterminated.

In Article XVIII. that the prejudice raised against Vaccination has been, in great measure, the cause of the death of near 2,000 persons this present year, in London alone.

In Article III. that the cases published to

prove the failure of Vaccination, have been for the most part fully refuted ; and

In Article IV. those Medical Men who dissent from the Jennerian Committee, are stated *generally*, as acting perversely and disingenuously ; persisting in bringing forward unfounded, and refuted reports ; and even misrepresentations, after they have been proved to be such.

Of these Articles I am compelled to say, and am ready to prove, that the three first are absolutely unfounded. Of the last I must declare, that it seems to me conceived in a spirit of illiberality and ungenerous censure, such as I should have imagined a Committee formed of Gentlemen never would have used ; and which certainly no circumstances can justify.

I presume not to judge the motives of action in others ; I know my own, and I am conscious of my sincerity. If I could be actuated by party spirit, I should be unworthy the confidence of the Public. I seek for Truth, and Truth alone. With indignation therefore do I reject the charge of acting perversely, and dis-

ingenuously. When I am convinced of error, I shall take a pride in acknowledging my mistake; 'till then I shall consider it my duty to declare my opinion openly, and to state the reasons, why I have from the first asserted, and why I still continue to assert, that I fear the experiment of Vaccination will be found injurious to the peace, the health, and the welfare of society.*

But since motives of action are called in question, let me mention a few of the circum-

* Though I admit with the Committee, the impropriety of discussing subjects of serious investigation in any other than a serious style, I must object to the manner in which they have worded their Vth Article. Having said, some "printed accounts, adverse to Vaccination, have treated "the subject with indecent and disgusting levity," (expressions I think much too strong, and coarse) they add, "as "if the good or evil of society, were fit objects for sarcasm, "and ridicule." This seems to me an invidious, and an unfair manner of stating the question. The *good* and *evil* of society never were the objects of ridicule. But a system being advanced, which it was apprehended would ultimately prove an evil, not a good, it was thought proper to attack that system: and while *some chose the sober method of argument, †others preferred that of ridicule: still however, it was the *system*, not the good or evil, that was ridiculed: and that system was ridiculed only so far as it was judged likely to injure, rather than benefit society.

* Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Lipscombé. † Dr. Moseley, Lues Bovilla.

stances that have contributed to influence my conduct: they will be found to bear more upon the argument than may at first be imagined. I will afterwards proceed to offer a few strictures on Mr. J. Moore's pamphlet.

The paper which I published in the Gentleman's Magazine, and which I shall here reprint, shews the ground I had to stand upon, in opposing the experiment at its very commencement. I have never changed my opinion; I have uniformly maintained that it was a dangerous practice to introduce a new source of disease into the human frame.

If I have been firm in my sentiments, it is because I have met with nothing in the sequel that has shaken my judgement.

It is true the opinion of some of my colleagues was in direct opposition to mine. I therefore, felt it incumbent on me, carefully and dispassionately to observe the result of the experiment. I did so: I read what was published; and I found from time to time such contradiction in the Reports of the advocates for Vaccination; such fluctuation in their opinion; such inconsistency in their practice;

that the most favorable conclusion I could draw was, they knew not what they were doing. Surely this did not authorize me to alter my original position.

To obviate the objections naturally raised from this extreme uncertainty, and which evidently affected the soundness of the principle on which the System rested; Vaccination was divided into Spurious, and Genuine. I foresaw the consequences. I was satisfied that the Jennerian Society, having once embarked in the cause, would have recourse to any expedient, rather than abandon it: and finding I stood nearly single, and that the tide of Opinion set strong against me, I patiently submitted to have my judgement called in question for a season, resolving to wait a proper period to explain my reasons of dissent.

The Cases of Mr. Hodge's Children occurred, confirming the truth of Mr. Goldson's Reports. I then thought it my duty to print my opinions in support of what that Gentleman had advanced. What I then wrote, and all I have written since, has been couched in the language of Seriousness, and Candour, not of levity or prejudice. Never shall I be

ashamed that I was the first to express a doubt whether Inoculation, so perfectly understood, and so successfully managed as it was, ought to be abandoned for a mere Experiment; holding the change too serious a matter, to be trifled with: neither shall I ever be ashamed to say, that I viewed with indignant scorn, the ungenerous artifice adopted by the Jennerian Society, of sticking up in every Station house, in the Vestries of fanatical Chapels, and in Sunday Schools, that false, *Comparative view of the Effects on Individuals, and Society, by the Small Pox, and the Cow Pox*, ornamented with tablets like a School-boy's writing-piece, representing to the gaping multitude a frightful picture of Inoculation, with the supposed misery attendant on it; and exhibiting representations equally false, and exaggerated of the blessings of Vaccination. When I saw this, and afterwards understood that these disgraceful Pictures were intended for the use of our distant Colonies, where the Truth would long be concealed, and Argument be totally lost, I was compelled to suspect, still more and more, not only the goodness of the cause itself, but the Candour of those who stooped to such means in its support.

Soon after this I heard with great surprise that an application had been made to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, persuading his Grace to direct the Clergy of the Church of England to recommend Vaccination from their pulpits..

I received a letter from the Palace at Lambeth, desiring to know if I had changed the opinion I had originally advanced ; and a respectable Clergyman waited on me from his Grace to talk with me on the subject. Without entering into any argument, I contented myself with relating to him all I knew: shewed him my correspondence with other medical men on the subject, and left him to judge for himself.—He retired from me, saying, “ *His Grace must not commit the Church.* ”—This transaction is perfectly well known I believe to all the Partisans of Vaccination. Why it has never been hinted at by any of the writers in favour of the Cause, and why it has been concealed, is a secret best known to themselves, and the Jennerian Committee.

These circumstances occasioned an increased degree of distrust in my mind ; and

called more loudly for care and circumspection; especially when I recollected the Anniversary dinner of Mr. Guy's hospital in 1802, where I expected to meet the Professors, the Medical Gentlemen, and the Students; on the same terms as usual. What was my surprise then to find, that the sole business of the meeting was to begin a canvass for names to a petition to Parliament, in support of Dr. Jenner's bill? it was presented to me, and I refused to sign it.

My surprise was increased after the dinner, to find that toasts, songs, and compliments from one Professor to another in honour of Vaccina, were the *order of the day*.

As I had seen, among the various business of life, some political manœuvres, and the management of some party schemes, I was not at a loss to conjecture in what manner the cause of Vaccination would be carried on.

The Royal Patronage, the authority of Parliament would be made use of, beyond what the sanction given warranted: the command of the Army and Navy would be adduced, not merely as the mean of facilitating the experiment, but as proof of the triumph of the cause: and

above all, the monopoly of the press, and the freedom of the Post Office would be employed to circulate the assertions of the friends of Vaccination, and to suppress the arguments of their opponents.

What I foresaw happened: and such was the influence of the Jennerian Society, that many publishers, and booksellers refused to print, or sell such works as might be deemed adverse to Vaccine Inoculation: in consequence of which it was hardly possible, at the first moment, to contradict any thing the Society chose to assert. It was in vain to argue against the system; for even the Ladies themselves were prejudiced, were influenced, and employed in its defence. Men midwives found their interests were essentially connected in its success; and they foresaw that if they could vaccinate at the breast, without danger of conveying infection, they should secure to themselves the nursery, as long as Vaccination lasted: no one could enter to interfere with them; they would prescribe for the Apothecary, and hold him at a distance; the Physician and Surgeon would be set aside; and if any accident occurred that rendered a dissection after death necessary, some anatomist,

friendly to the cause, might be called in to quiet the alarms of a family.

The College of Physicians seem at last to have opened their eyes to the innovations of these practitioners, who, like the Jesuits of old, through the medium of the female branches, aim at managing the whole family.

They have therefore forbidden them to prescribe in future for children above two years old; that safe age, before which, unless in peculiar cases, according to Baron Dimsdale, Inoculation ought not to be performed; and that for self evident reasons. For if the loss of beauty, or the probability of danger are proportionate to the crop of pustules in the face, who, but one ignorant of Surgery, would advise that bed of roses, the blooming cheeks of an infant, during the eruptive fever of Small Pox, to be applied to the warm breast of a well fed nurse? What maturating poultice is more likely to invite the pustules to that part? Against this practice every notion of sound sense revolts; and I will venture to affirm that the majority of children who suffer from Inoculation, are those inoculated at the breast.

When therefore such pains are taken to magnify the numbers that fall victims to Small Pox, why is not this pernicious custom, which every sound practitioner reprobates, taken into the account? and why is it not remembered that in the populous parts of the Metropolis, where the abundance of children exceed the means of providing food, and raiment for them, this pestilential disease is considered as a merciful provision on the part of Providence, to lessen the burthen of a poor man's family?

Let the College of Physicians, who examine the Apothecaries' shops in the narrow streets, and suburbs of London, report the state of the medicines, the scales and measures, and the annual reproofs they are constrained to make to many, where,

“ ————— among the shelves
 A beggarly account of empty boxes,
 Green earthen pots, bladders, and musty seeds,
 Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses
 Are thinly scattered to make up a shew,”

and then, we shall in some measure be able to determine, how little can with justice be urged against any particular mode of practice, from

the frequency of deaths among the poorer classes of mankind.*

Enough has been said to explain why from the first, I was led to regard with a certain degree of suspicion, the conduct of the friends of Vaccination; and why I have uniformly disapproved their proceedings. It remains to make some observation on an ingenious pamphlet written by Mr. J. Moore, hitherto the best defender of the Jennerian cause. What Dr. Thornton will produce, who has announced himself employed by the Committee, to answer the wit of Dr. Mosely, and the sober arguments of Mr. Lipscombe, the event will prove.†

* One of the most prevalent causes of death among infants, is the loss of their mother's milk. Women who abandon their own children, to sell their milk to a stranger, will be found too frequently to have destroyed their deserted babes. An Hospital under the Queen's patronage, was settled at Bay's-Water, to receive the children thus deserted, but it subsisted a very short period, for all the children died. The Foundling Hospital, the *Enfant trouvé* at Paris, and the registers of large parishes, will elucidate this fact; but it is never mentioned in the Bills of Mortality.

† Dr. Thornton, after suffering himself to be made the Instrument of the Jennerian Society, has been refuted by Dr. Mosely, and complains that he is disgracefully treated by the College of Physicians.

With respect to Mr. J. Moore, he certainly deserves some praise for the pleasant manner in which he has treated the subject: but much more for the candour he has shewn. I must do him the justice to point this out, lest the Reader, seduced by his pleasantry, should suffer himself to misconstrue the author's intentions.

I cannot however discover in Mr. J. Moore's pamphlet, any answer to the arguments of Mr. Rogers; or any thing like a reply to the five questions in my printed Letter. A particular reply indeed I was not to expect; for it is the plan to unite all the writers against Vaccination in one class; wishing that a censure applicable to any one of them individually, may attach to them all generally. As I do not approve this method, which is unfair and sophistical, I shall not follow it; neither will I pay his ingenuity so bad a compliment, as to couple him with Mr. Ring, to whom, perhaps, Mr. Squirrel is a more than equal antagonist.

Mr. Moore, in the beginning of his book, for what reason I cannot discern, pays a studied compliment to the humanity of the Faculty of

Medicine, at the expence of Surgeons. But he must allow me to say, it is the peculiar boast of Surgery, to have softened the malignity, and to have discovered the cure of two of the greatest evils that afflict mortality; in the judicious practice of Inoculation, and by the improved treatment of Lues Venerea.

Surgery has positive grounds to rest upon, which will for ever secure to it the gratitude, and the support of mankind; if it ever should lose any part of its due estimation, this will be owing to the unwarrantable presumption of some, who practise it without being properly educated in its principles.

Every Apothecary's journeyman, lectured for six months to pass an examination for the lower ranks of the Army and Navy, now pretends to be a proficient in this art.

The fatal consequences that result from uneducated practitioners in every branch of medicine assuming the province of the Surgeon, and experimenting on Inoculation, is justly depicted in the Report of the Jennerian Society. Mr. Moore makes the same observation, and tells us, that the results from this ge-

neral practice were so different to the accounts of Dr. Jenner and his friends, that many experiments were set on foot, in order to establish a permanent theory. By these it was ascertained, that Dr. Jenner's account of the origin of the disease was unfounded, and untrue. This was a distressing circumstance to befall the great Father of the Experiment, as he was called, who ought certainly to have been, morally speaking, sure of his principle of action, before he ventured to propose it to the Public, or petition Parliament for a reward for his discoveries. It was now asked, what had he discovered? What had he recommended? What were his principles as well in Theory, as Practice? These were awkward questions; to answer them was difficult: therefore to avoid the perplexing appeals that were daily made to him, and the messages that were perpetually sent requesting him to visit untoward cases, the Doctor retired from London. Had matters gone on smoothly, the Doctor would have found it his interest to have remained in the Metropolis.

The horrible description which Mr. Moore paints of the Confluent Small Pox, and of the Lues Venerea, may be just: but as they happily

are not often seen, if ever, where proper treatment can be procured, and will be followed ; they stand as extreme cases, on which the rhetorician may declaim, indeed, but from which the sound reasoner can draw no conclusive argument. I see not, therefore, what Mr. Moore gains to his cause by the description. I must however, thank him for it, as he thus affords me an opportunity of saying, that it is the pride of Surgery, to have reduced the mortality consequent on the first of these disorders, to one in a thousand ; and that attendant on the last, to nearly the same proportion.

The Natural Small Pox might almost always be avoided, if Inoculation were duly performed : and instances of persons dying of Lues Venerea, except in ill conducted Workhouses, are almost unknown to regular Surgeons.

Mr. Moore asserts, that Vaccination was opposed before any facts could be alleged against it. But in so early a stage of the business as when before the Committee of the House of Commons, I brought *three* cases, and named *four* others, of Small Pox following Vaccination. Was this opposing without facts?

Nay, it was these very cases that taught Dr. Woodville, what he had mistaken for an Hybrid Eruption, was real Small Pox; and which made Mr. Cline acknowledge, that Vaccination would not prevent Small Pox, where the patient had breathed variolous atmosphere.

Our Author goes on to relate the rapidity with which Vaccination was spread through every part of the world. That the progress of Vaccination was rapid, beyond almost belief, I readily admit: that this circumstance is a proof of the merits of the System I deny.—We live in a capricious age; an age that is fond of believing paradoxes, and of grasping at novelty. And this alone might account for the wonderful avidity with which the experiment was adopted. But there were other causes that co-operated, and I have already specified them. So long as the liberty of the Post Office was allowed, and the Press was in possession of the Society, had their scheme been more objectionable than it is, it would with facility have been at home propagated; and as for the Continent, English faith stood so firm there about that period, that any thing from England was received as sterling. Yet I had ac-

counts even from the Continent, very different to Mr. Moore's representation ; accounts which lamented the too easy faith of some Hanoverian parents, whose children were the victims of this new experiment.

Mr. Moore's candour begins to shew itself about the ninth page, where he admits this Cow Pox to be erroneously attributed to that gentle Animal. " No Cow that is allowed to suckle her own Calf, untouched by the Milker, ever had this complaint." He concludes therefore, that the Vaccine Disease is some pollution, imposed upon the harmless Animal by contact of the Milker. This I can readily believe to be the case. We do not understand indeed by what law of Nature the corrupt humour of an human disease, acting on the teats of an harmless animal, can generate a new disorder ; but it seems to be the only rational way of accounting for the phenomenon ; and nothing remains for us but to enquire what that disease is, which being communicated from the Milker, produces the Vaccine Matter.—Is it the Itch? the Lues Venerea? or the Small Pox itself? —It evidently must be something common

among the lower orders, for with them it originates : I could almost be tempted to think it was often the Itch.

A man applied to me at St. Thomas's Hospital to examine his hand and arm, which were full of ulcerations. He said he belonged to a milk house near the end of Kent-street; that several of the milkers were in the same condition with himself; and that most of the cows teats, belonging to the house, were affected in a similar manner; he added, he had been told it was Cow Pox.

As I had not been accustomed to see the natural Cow Pox, I asked one of my Pupils from the country, what he thought of the case. He replied, that the patient exhibited every symptom of having the itch, in that stage, which is commonly called the Rank Itch. On farther examination the appearance about the fingers confirmed his observation; I directed the man to use Jackson's Itch Ointment, and he appeared again at the end of a week, quite cured.

From this accidental circumstance, and from the tormenting itching which some children

when vaccinated, are afflicted with, it will be worth while for the Committee to enquire whether the itch may not be one of the diseases that form the base of the Vaccine Matter. —At all events since the Cow is proved innocent, and the Milker alone guilty, it will be proper to ascertain what the complaints are to which the Milkers in Glostershire, and in Holstein are liable.

Dr. Jenner's theory of the grease of the horse, is now given up, even by his best friends: but surely, it is time either for himself or them to find us some just criterion that may enable us to distinguish the genuine source from which it originates. Why however are we forbidden to inoculate from the Cow herself? Does her simple food increase the virulence of that disease with which the foul milker contaminates her teats? or again, must the disease be meliorated by passing through some human victim, who is perhaps to be sacrificed in consequence, before it can be fit for general use?

What the Small Pox is, we know; and we know also, that when given properly by Inoculation it will communicate a mild disease to the human frame. I say we are fully ac-

quainted with the benefits and the management of that meliorated contagion ; a management so simple, that we have little to apprehend even from the unskilfulness of ignorant Practitioners ; and a benefit so unalloyed, that the experience of now near a century, has proved, that the use of it does not contribute to swell the catalogue of human woes by new disorders. I see not therefore what wisdom there is in wishing to drop Small Pox Inoculation altogether, (for that is the clamorous demand of the Jennerian Society;) and inoculate from a disease, the nature of which we know not : a disease so varying, and so ambiguous in its appearance and effects, that even the most skilful Vaccinator, even Dr. Jenner himself, who has proudly suffered himself to be called, “ The man destined to expel contagion,”* cannot be certain when it is commu-

* When Dr. Jenner’s Bust was exposed at the Exhibition last year, it was subscribed, if I mistake not, with the following lines of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.

The Man—

By great Apollo’s high command ordain’d
T’expel the foul contagion from this land ;
Nursed there too long, but to be nursed no more.

Dr. J. was, I understand, wonderfully pleased with the application ; which certainly was very ingenious, and only

nicated, and when not ; when it is genuine, when spurious ; a disease that has already given suffering mortality, a new malady, which, whether it shall be called the Cow Evil, from the animal, or the Jennerian Evil from the inventor, posterity will determine.

But why do I say the inventor? I beg pardon of this “ expeller of contagion,” if I state, that the Cow Pox has been known for generations. If it has not been brought forward before, the reason is, that the Physicians of former days, less confident, and less empirick than some of the present, thought it unbecoming their character, and what they owed Society, to obtrude any experiment, which they were not fully satisfied was a salutary one. They therefore tried it in silence ; they found, notwithstanding an apparent success at first, that it failed ultimately, and they dropped it. I shall instance no other name than that of Sir George Baker, who had Dr. Jenner’s *invention* mentioned to him forty years

wanted truth to be really admirable. If a second Bust were to appear, I apprehend a more appropriate, though less splendid motto would be

Davus sum, non Œdipus.

ago; it was tried, it failed, and no more was said of it. Mr. John Hunter did not give the Experiment much credit. The event justifies their conduct: for surely it does not do much honour to the cause, much less does it accord with the positive assurances given Parliament, for Dr. Jenner to lay down a Theory, to be obliged to recant it, and to leave the Public nothing satisfactory in its place: it does us nationally no great honour to have the Cow Pox make so much noise all over the world, and then to be declared no Cow Pox: neither does it argue much in favour of the wisdom of the Faculty, to adopt so blindly a practice, which the first Leaders seem to know nothing about after seven years experience, except, that it fully contradicts the evidence they produced in the House of Commons in its favor.

It is allowed by all the writers among the Vaccinists, that from the Cow is to be got a genuine and a spurious matter. I cannot understand this doctrine; it seems contrary to the general Laws of Nature; she has given us a genuine but no spurious Small Pox: a genuine but no spurious Measles. More merciful in her operations, than Vaccinators; she gives us a specific evil, that we may know how

to administer specific remedies ; and when we may be securely freed from the dread of its recurrence.

But since a genuine and a spurious Cow Pox is admitted by Vaccinists, how do they account for it ? Till wiser heads than mine have determined this point, I will suggest the following conjecture :—

It is allowed on all hands, that Cow Pox is generated by some disorder imparted by the milker. Now if that disorder should happen to be the Small Pox, then the Pustule so occasioned, and the matter coming from it, may inoculate Small Pox, and the patient thus inoculated, may be for ever secure from that disease, for in fact he will have received Small Pox Inoculation. But if the disorder generated on the Cow's teats, have for its base, *Itch*, as I apprehend has sometimes happened, then the patient will be inoculated with a disorder, which, though it may suspend the capacity for Small Pox for a season in the constitution, will ultimately prove no security.

Notwithstanding Mr. Moore's pleasant way

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of treating the subject, he cannot laugh away this simple argument.

If there is no such disease belonging to the Animal as Cow Pox, if she must be subject to infections from the hand of him to whom she spares her milk, and sacrifices her calf, let us be acquainted with the nature of these infections, and do not let us so inhumanly submit our babes, while smiling in the mother's face, to, *we know not what !*

In the Small Pox, and other infectious disorders, I repeat, we know of nothing spurious ; the matter inoculated from a patient who may die afterwards of the Confluent Small Pox, will produce nothing but a mild disease ; nothing but Small Pox.

When the Societies quarrelled, and parted, they were almost upon the point of declaring, that one was the genuine, the other the spurious Society, for exterminating the Small Pox. This would have been a death blow to the whole system. The friends of both parties saw this ; an accommodation was effected : like the contending heroes on the stage, they said,

“ *Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong ;*” they shook hands, and agreed at all events to support the Experiment.

I shall not take notice of that part of our Author’s pamphlet, which attacks the Physicians ; not only because I conceive it beside my immediate subject, but because I consider “ *The Commentaries on the Cow Pox,*” lately published by Dr. Moseley, to contain a full answer to all that Mr. Moore has asserted on this head.

Those pages which are employed in describing the nature of Small Pox, and other infectious diseases, are well worth attending to ; though they are written with such affectation of wit, that if hastily perused, they may be mistaken.

However, I admire Mr. Moore’s candour, as I collect from these pages, that he is of opinion the *Small Pox cannot be twice received* ; and observe, that he admits some cases to have occurred, where the Small Pox has appeared on persons who had apparently passed through the Cow Pox, in a regular way. He then concludes, “ A true Philosopher knows

“ there is no real exception to the Laws of
 “ Nature ; apparent deviations are common,
 “ but the Laws of Nature are immutable.”
 And again he observes, “ If Medical men were
 “ as ready to own their errors as Chemists,
 “ they would not so often accuse Nature of
 “ being so capricious as they do.

“ To admit that a few individuals organised
 “ like others, are susceptible of having certain
 “ diseases twice, while the flood of mankind
 “ can only have them once, is almost a contra-
 “ diction in the uniformity of the Laws of
 “ Cause and Effect.”

These are sentiments so just in themselves, and conceived in such spirit of candour and liberality, that although Mr. Moore discovers sometimes a little flippancy of wit he had better have spared, and although he sometimes deals too much in authoritative assertion which does not sit well on him, I nevertheless sincerely wish he had been employed earlier in the controversy: the question then probably would have been more easily decided.

I lament, however, that he will not suffer

his own principles to produce with himself that conviction I apprehend they ought.

If a true philosopher knows there are no real exceptions to the Laws of Nature, then a patient *cannot have the Small Pox twice*. But Mr. Moore admits that patients have had the real Small Pox after Vaccination; the disease therefore which the Vaccine matter excited, could not have been Small Pox; and consequently, those patients (except in the cases suggested in page 41) remain liable to it, as soon as the suspending power of the Vaccine disease shall have ceased.

This argument is so simple a one, and the conclusion in my mind so just, that I feel confident its force must be felt by every impartial person.

What Mr. Moore says of the primary, and secondary Small Pox, in which all sound Practitioners will readily concur with him, proves every thing I could wish in favour of my argument.

Whoever has read the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, would conclude from the multitude of evidence there

adduced, that the practice of Vaccination was at that time perfectly settled and understood. But Mr. Moore informs us, “ All the peculiari-
 “ ties of this curious complaint were not *de-*
 “ *tected* at once. In the first two or three
 “ years it was not to be expected that the Art
 “ of Vaccination should be brought to perfec-
 “ tion. It is therefore not to be wondered at,
 “ if among the multitude of Surgeons, Apo-
 “ thecaries, *Clergymen*, and *Ladies*, who prac-
 “ tised, a few mistakes have happened.”

That no experiment is perfected at once, even where the principles are just, I readily allow : it is no more than what must be expected from the imperfection of human wisdom. What I complain of, is, that while Vaccination was nothing more than an experiment it should have been, not merely recommended to the public notice, but authoritatively imposed on the public practice. If it should be argued, that Inoculation was urged with nearly as much earnestness ; I shall reply that the cases are altogether different. Inoculation when brought into England was no longer a mere experiment : it was a practice confirmed by the experience of generations in foreign countries : and as the laws of Nature could

not be supposed to be different here, and in Turkey, the opposition made to Inoculation might be fairly said to have been the result of ignorance, and prejudice.

I must be permitted however to observe, in answer to Mr. Moore's statement, that among the *multitude of Surgeons*, hardly any of the Court of Assistants of the College are to be found. That parliament should have omitted to consult the College of Surgeons, seems to me an oversight hardly to be accounted for. As parliament could not be supposed to act from any knowledge of their own; the merits of the case not depending on the science of politics, or legislation, but on that of surgery and medicine, common prudence should have dictated the propriety of consulting the Colleges of these two professions, who might be supposed competent to give them the information they wanted. When the College of Physicians were applied to, they gave a negative answer. Had the College of Surgeons been consulted, they would have discovered that truth, which has now been revealed. The only surgeons of the court of Assistants, whose names appear in the Report of the Jennerian Society, are Mr. Ford, and Mr. Home. Mr. Cline's name, whose evidence was so strong before the

Committee of the House of Commons, appears to have been withdrawn.

But the apothecaries are men of experience ; how came their *multitudes* to join so readily in the experiment? Why, they came into the new practice, because they early discovered it was the plan of the men-midwives to seclude them, by this manœuvre, from the nurseries: and finding they could not fight them fairly on their own ground, they resolved, by forming an alliance, to share, if possible, the conquest.

The co-operation of the Clergy (I speak of those of the Established Church, and I speak of them with that reverence due to so learned, and so respectable a body), may be accounted for, from that solicitude to benefit the bodies, as well as the souls of men, which forms part of the ministerial character. I think however that they would have done wiser, to have waited till the experiment was so firmly established that they could not have stood committed by any subsequent failure: for in proportion to the sacredness of any character, ought to be the scrupulous desire of avoiding what might expose it to censure.

As for the Sectarian preachers, whether in or out of the church, they saw it was an easy

way of securing acceptance to their peculiar tenets, by stealing, under the specious appearance of Charity, and Philanthropy, into the bosom of maternal tenderness: while the tender sex, who from innate benevolence are ever ready to assist in doing good, were flattered, were soothed, and were instructed, “to insinuate the plot into the boxes.” Dr. Jenner took so much pains to teach some ladies to vaccinate with a light hand, that one of them declared she only brought blood from two in the village; and that only one family among her patients had shewn any symptom of the Cow Pox disorders.

Mr. Moore tells us that all the misfortunes have happened about Chelsea, and in London; and that there has hardly been a suspicion of any failures in opulent families.

There is something very insidious and unjust in these assertions: they afford almost the only instance of disingenuous reasoning to be found in Mr. Moore's book. By stating the failures to have occurred round Chelsea, I presume he aims at one of the opposers of Vaccination, whose practice lying much in that part of the

country, if it could be shewn that no cases came from other quarters, he would infer that those adduced were the result either of the want of candour, or want of skill in a prejudiced individual: and by asserting that there is hardly any suspicion of failure among the opulent, he would insinuate, that those cases instanced from among the poor are not to be credited; the poor not having the means of contradicting, what may be asserted of them.

To the first of these insinuations I reply, by saying, that there are few parts of the kingdom from which I will not pledge myself to bring instances of failure in Vaccination, as notorious as any mentioned in the vicinity of Chelsea, and London.

To the second I reply, by asserting that it is unfounded. There is a degree of respect due to the superior orders of society which exacts from us, when speaking of them, an increased degree of delicacy. To proclaim that an afflictive malady has befallen an individual in the lower orders of society, can be productive of no great inconvenience: to proclaim the same of persons who perhaps may be connected with some of the first families in the

kingdom, would be a serious evil. I think Mr. Moore therefore highly to blame, in using an argument which he must be aware from a sentiment of delicacy could never perhaps be answered as it ought. I trust however I am not infringing the rule I wish to observe when I say, that if Dr. Jenner were again to apply to Parliament for support, he would find from many members of both Houses that marked opposition to his pretensions, which would prove a full answer to this assertion of our Author.

Mr. Moore acknowledges one benefit to have arisen from the opposition made to Vaccination, namely, the improvement of the Practice; and he says, a little more time will dispel the prejudices of the inferior Practitioners, and the vulgar.

If the lower orders of society have conceived prejudices against Vaccination, it will not be easy to root them out: for not only do they know from sad experience that it does not answer; but they have been so ungenerously deceived and imposed on by the Inoculators at the Small Pox Hospital, and other places,

where Cow Pox was inserted when they were told they were to be inoculated with Small Pox, that they do not know where to put their trust. This is such an instance of *bad faith*, as, I hope, will never occur again; every principle of humanity revolts against it. Was it not sufficient to have had recourse to every possible means of perverting the judgment of the poor by every artifice ingenuity could suggest, but, when still unconvinced of the efficacy of Vaccination, they demanded to be inoculated with small Pox, must they be systematically deceived? and implicitly relying on the honour of the Operator, must they be clandestinely contaminated with the very disease they were anxious to avoid?

“ ——— Speak it in whispers lest a Greek should hear!
 Lives there a man so dead to fame, who dares
 To think such meanness, or the thought declares:
 And comes it ev’n from him, whose Sov’reign sway
 The banded Legions of all Greece obey?”

Mr. Waeschall I have understood is not to be blamed for this imposition on their good faith; he is but a servant of the charity, and must follow orders. Where do these orders

originate? Who is to blame? Let us know where to fix the stigma.*

It has been asserted, that more children have died within the last twelve months of Small Pox, than in any former year: and from this circumstance an argument has been raised to discredit Inoculation: but in my mind a conclusion exactly opposite ought to be drawn from it.

If the fatality of Small Pox has been greater during the last year, than for several years preceding, this is owing to the suspension of Inoculation, having left more subjects open to its infection. For many with whom the suspending power of Vaccination had subsided, fell unsuspecting victims to the Natural Disease: and many others perished by it, who

* Small Pox Hospitals, *if properly conducted*, appear to me such useful charities in a great Metropolis, that I could wish to see them maintained even at the Public expence: since from such Institutions, every Parish might be supplied, at stated periods, with proper Medical men, who should inoculate the Poor gratis. By this means, and by compelling the parents to abstain from public exposure, the evils of Natural Small Pox would in a short time be easily subdued.

had been left open to its attack, because their parents justly objected to the unfair proceedings of those Practitioners who substituted Cow Pox, for Small Pox; and having thus lost all confidence in the integrity of the Faculty, and not knowing whom to trust, they suffered the natural disease to take its fatal course.

Let us put things upon the old footing; let us drop Vaccination altogether for seven years, and practise only Small Pox Inoculation, and if the mortality in Small Pox do not return to its old standard, I will be content to give up my opinion, and become as devout a worshipper of the Cow, as any idolater within the realms of Hindostan, or the precincts of Salisbury Court.

That there always has been a mortality attendant on Small Pox, even when Inoculation alone was adopted, no one can deny. I deny however, that this mortality ever has been as great as Mr. Moore asserts, or as the friends of Vaccination, eager to establish their own system by discrediting the other, have wished to make the Public to believe. But what makes more to the argument is, that it will be easy to

point out the flagrant error to which the mortality may be referred: namely, the public exposure of patients during the eruptive state of the disorder. A common error, which has been made use of to raise a prejudice against Inoculation, but which, so far from forming a necessary part of the treatment, has been expressly forbidden by that able and successful Practitioner, Baron Dimsdale. I cannot help therefore humbly suggesting, that the Legislature would do well thus far to interfere, and by prohibiting under penalty such improper exposure, remedy an evil, which otherwise society must continue to suffer from the ignorance, or perversity of unskilful Practitioners.

The last objection I shall notice, is one on which it seems to have been the aim of Vaccinators to lay great stress, viz. that what is called the King's Evil, generally takes its rise from Inoculation: this is particularly depicted in some of the engravings of that disgraceful production I have mentioned in a former page, "*The View of the comparative effects of Inoculation, and Vaccination,*" where a patient is represented conversing with his Doctor and Nurse, and complaining by a label from his mouth, "*Sad effects of one Disease, Blind. Deaf, and afflicted with the Scrofula!*"

I shall answer this assertion, not by entering into any discussion on the nature of Scrophula in general; to do this satisfactorily I should be obliged to swell my pamphlet beyond the size calculated for general circulation; but by simply adducing matters of fact: a mode of arguing to plain and unsophisticated minds always the most agreeable, and certainly the most conclusive.

I must therefore remind Mr. Moore, and the partisans of Vaccination, that Scrophula was far more prevalent before, than after the introduction of Inoculation.

That it is one of the maladies which is supposed to be hereditary, and therefore forms a strong objection to infantine Inoculation in those families, where great care should be taken to avoid exciting a diseased action in the absorbent system.

But this I shall be told is only a presumptive argument. I grant it: a more positive one is, that I could adduce some large families of children, where this glandular complaint has for generations been acknowledged to be hereditary, who having been all at a proper age Ino-

culated by able practitioners, have grown up to full maturity without suffering from Scrophula, or so much as ever exhibiting symptoms of this disorder.

I have now noticed all that Mr. Moore has brought forward in any shape relevant to the question; and the result is, that I am still more than ever convinced of the propriety of adhering to those opinions, I from the first entertained, of the inefficacy of Vaccination.

I am willing to pay this Author the compliment, that if the cause could have been defended satisfactorily, it would have been so defended by him,

Si Pergama dextra

Defendi possent, etiam hâc defensa fuissent.

but, my conviction is, that the system does not rest on any solid foundation; that it never can stand. For let us candidly and impartially sum up all that has been established, after the experience of now above seven years; let us compare the result, with the promised advantages, and let us come fairly to our conclusion.

When the Committee of the House of Commons recommended Dr. Jenner to the munificence of Parliament, it was for a discovery in practice which was never to prove fatal; which was to excite no new humours, or disorders in the constitution; and which was to be, not only a perfect security against the Small Pox, but would, if universally adopted, prevent its recurrence for ever.

Here then are three distinct points on which Dr. Jenner stands pledged to give the public the fullest satisfaction; otherwise, not only will he fail in his part of the contract, but the experiment itself will fail of having any claim to public notice or support.

Let us see what Dr. Jenner has done to establish the justness of his several positions in favour of Cow Pox.

And first he was called upon, as might naturally be expected, to give an account of the origin of the disease itself.

This could not be considered as a difficult task; for surely Dr. Jenner would not propose

to inoculate from a disorder without knowing what that disorder was. He therefore assured the world, that it originated from the grease of the horse's heel, communicated by the hands of the milker to the teats of the cow.

This theory, which in itself was suspicious, by subsequent experiments was proved to be erroneous: however from that hour to the present, Dr. Jenner has been able to advance nothing satisfactory, and he has left us at this very moment in the dark as to the real nature and origin of the Vaccine Disease.

But though Dr. Jenner could not tell us what the Cow Pox was, he soon came forward to inform us that it was of two sorts, the one genuine, and harmless, the other spurious, and hurtful.

This was a discovery so much the more alarming as at the same time no criterion but the effect was given, by which the two sorts could be distinguished. Here then was a direct failure, on the part of Dr. Jenner in his agreement, if I may so call it, with the Houses of Parliament.

But yet further. In cases where Vaccination did not produce fatal consequences, it gave rise to new, and painful disorders. It was followed sometimes by itchy eruptions; sometimes by singular ulcerations; and sometimes by glandular swellings of a nature wholly distinct from Scrophula, or any other known glandular disease. Here, again was a failure in the second point stipulated: and finally,

It was ascertained that even when Vaccination was performed, from what was called the genuine matter, it would not always prove a preservative against the Small Pox: as several patients, who had been pronounced by the most experienced Vaccinators to have passed regularly through the Cow Pox, were nevertheless attacked with the genuine Small Pox.

These points being established, and they are established by the most uncontested facts, facts which the public are not called upon to believe on the assertions of those who oppose Vaccination, but on the confessions of those who support it, how can Dr. Jenner be said to have fulfilled what he stood pledged to Parlia-

ment to execute? and not fulfilling his agreement, how can his system claim reasonably any longer its support?

Were an architect to undertake to build an edifice which he engaged should be firm, and unshaken in its foundations; all its rooms wind and water tight; and such as might be inhabited with perfect security: if before the edifice were well finished the foundations were discovered to be rotten; and if in less than seven years, several apartments had fallen in and killed those who occupied them, while in a great number of rooms, the wind or rain was perpetually beating in, could I be blamed for declaring that the architect had broken his contract, and that the edifice ought to be no longer tenanted? should I deserve the opprobrium of acting perversely, and disingenuously, if I advised my friends not to quit their own houses, where they had lived securely for generations, to occupy apartments where they could never be free from danger? Certainly not. Every body would say, that in giving this advice I was acting the part of a real friend! Why then am I to be told I am acting *disingenuously*, or *perversely*, when I

remonstrate against the general practice of the Cow Pox? for, such an edifice as I have described above, so rotten in its foundation, so ill built, so ruinous, is Vaccination.

Has the conduct of the friends of Vaccination in supporting and recommending their system been such as to impress me with a favourable opinion of the system? No! Their conduct has been marked with so much art, and trick, and contrivance, nay, so much deceit has been resorted to, that this circumstance alone would make me suspect the goodness of the cause altogether, and the motives that influence its partisans.

Or again, have the writers in favour of Vaccination been able to produce any thing that has operated conviction? Certainly not. They have disproved no well attested fact: they have confined themselves for the most part to railery and contemptuous sneers at their opponents; and the Jennerian Society itself, when it publishes a report, advances such unfounded assertions, and uses such equivocal language as I think never could have been employed had the system been a good one.

Why then, or on what grounds, am I to come into the opinions of the Jennerian Society? Is there any thing in their conduct that can prepossess me in their favour? any thing in their practice to recommend them?

But arguments may be fallacious—let us come to facts. Can any one disprove the three following:

That Vaccination has been too often fatal:

That Vaccination has introduced new disorders into the human system:

That Vaccination is not a perfect security against the Small Pox.

These facts I maintain can never be disproved.

That Vaccination is sometimes fatal may be shewn, not vaguely by assigning to it the subsequent death of the patient, as the only probable cause, but from destructive inflammation which, in some instances, has arisen

immediately from the puncture of Cow Pox Inoculation; a case that never did occur in Small Pox Inoculation.

That Vaccination introduces new disorders, is proved from a new genus of disease, unknown to any former practitioner; unknown till after the introduction of the Cow Pox: and never to be found but in those subjects who have had that disorder.

That Vaccination is not a perfect security against the Small Pox—*we have the confession of the Jennerian Committee itself.*

Let these facts be considered, and then let the concluding sentence of the report of the Jennerian Committee be read.

How after all that has been established, and admitted, can it be said “that mankind have already derived great and incalculable benefits from the discovery of Vaccination?” how can it be maintained there is full cause for believing, that Cow Pox Inoculation will ultimately succeed in extinguishing the Small Pox?

And yet this conclusion is subscribed by a list of many respectable names. I really could almost be tempted to believe that some of those signatures have been applied further than was intended : and that there are those among the subscribers, who only wishing to encourage the experiment, have been made appear to support the system.

However this may be, one thing is certain ; those names convey in reality only the opinion of so many practitioners. Now, the opinion of the wisest men that ever lived, if in opposition to facts, must be erroneous, and consequently of no authority. Besides which on the very score of opinion something ought to be taken into consideration.

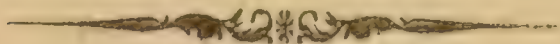
There are persons in the list whose abilities, whose character, and knowledge I revere ; I might instance Dr. Baillie, and some others ; but there are those among them whose abilities, whose character, and knowledge I do not revere : whose opinions consequently, have no weight with me, and ought not, I think, to have any with the public.

These then are the grounds on which I feel myself justified in adhering to the opinion I first declared before the Committee of the House of Commons; and these are the reasons for which I do not hesitate to pronounce, that I think the high sanction that has been given to the Cow Pox Experiment, as well from the Royal Name, as from the protection of Parliament, ought to be withdrawn: for that sanction is deservedly of such weight, that remote practitioners do not even give the subject a consideration, but conclude that a system so recommended must be unexceptionable.

I trust it will not be supposed, from what I have said, that I am presuming to censure either that August Personage, or the Houses of Parliament, for the support they have afforded the cause of Vaccination. What they did arose from that parental solicitude which they feel, and never can cease to feel for the welfare of individuals, and the happiness of the community; and though I may think the experiment was not sufficiently tried before it was recommended, still they did but exercise that principle, which has been so often exerted for the public good; and which has procured

us blessings, eminently greater than any enjoyed by the other nations of the world.

That Dr. Jenner should have been remunerated by the munificence of Parliament I conceive to be no more than just ; on this general principle, that he who neglects his own private interests, in order to promote the public benefit, has some claim for public compensation. That the experiment itself should have been made, I likewise think wise ; because it is only from experiment that we can ascertain what is, or what is not, beneficial to society. But I can neither think it just, nor wise, that when Vaccination has failed in so many points of accomplishing those ends it promised to accomplish : it should still continue to receive that degree of sanction and support, which a completely successful, and unobjectionable practice, alone, is entitled to enjoy.



J. Smeeton, Printer, 148, St. Martin's Lane.

THE following paper was originally printed in 1804, and circulated among my intimate Friends, and some of the Faculty, as a private appeal to them in vindication of the opinion, against Vaccination, I had delivered before the Committee of the House of Commons.

In 1805 it appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, the only publication that then would venture to insert any thing adverse to the Vaccine System. I now re-print it, together with my Letter to Mr Rogers, and his Examination of the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, that every candid Person may judge, how far the language I have used in investigating this question is illiberal, and improper ; or, how far the manner in which I have conducted the enquiry has been either perverse or disingenuous.

The celebrated Dr. George Fordyce maintained it as his opinion, to others

as well as myself, that Vaccination was an unnatural experiment, unphilosophical, and unsafe. The arguments he adduced in confirmation of this opinion were so logical, and conclusive, I am more than ever satisfied my sentiments will not be found erroneous.

Having now discharged my duty towards the Public, and the Profession, I shall henceforth take leave of the subject: and I quit it without any unbecoming fears, or apprehensions. I feel a well grounded persuasion that my opinions will ultimately be acknowledged to be just; and at all events, when time shall have abated somewhat of Party Spirit, I am confident justice will be done to my Sincerity.

Magna est Veritas et Prævalebit.

HAD the Inoculation for what has been called Cow-pox succeeded, agreeably to the sanguine promises and expectations of its advocates, I should have thought myself called upon to recant the opinion I gave to the Committee of the House of Commons, and to apologize for having persevered in it; but as the experiment has failed in several instances, and the truth can no longer be concealed from the public, I think it necessary to appeal to the judgement of discerning persons, whether I have not been treated with much injustice for firmly maintaining an opinion for which I had such strong grounds.

It was a maxim handed down to us while I was a Student at St. Thomas's Hospital, "Never to sacrifice Experience to Experiment;" and therefore in Diseases for the treatment of which Time and Observation had laid down a rule of successful practice, I am cautious how I exchange this for new opinions.

The judicious manner in which my excellent friend, Baron Dimsdale managed the Inoculation for Small Pox, had long convinced me that if any man deserved well of his Country, he was entitled at least to the *thanks* of the Legislature ; and the opportunities I had of making myself acquainted with his opinions, taught me to listen with caution to any new practice, which was to overturn all I had made myself master of.

When therefore it was proposed to me, to *introduce a new Disease into the human system*, I hesitated ; but on the assurance given to me, that it was still milder than the Inoculated Small Pox, was productive of no ill consequences, and would equally arrest the progress of variolous Infection, I consented that Abraham Howard, the first Child mentioned at my Examination, should be vaccinated. The Cow Pox terminated successfully, but the Child afterwards sickened, and had an eruption, which I considered the Small Pox, though others called it an *Hybrid Eruption*, an appearance which I was told had been described as not uncommon at the Small Pox Hospital,

when the patient had been previously in a variolous Atmosphere.

*Two other Cases however were followed by distinct and unequivocal Small Pox after Vaccination, and then it was admitted that the Cow Pox would not arrest the progress of *variolous* Infection; although it is well known Inoculation of the Small Pox within a limited period will *supersede* and *subdue* it.

These Cases ascertained that there was no such thing as an Hybrid or Mulish Eruption, but that what had been called so at the Small Pox Hospital was the real Small Pox.

I appeal therefore to persons of Discernment, whether such mistakes in the outset of a new practice were not sufficient grounds for a cautious man to admit some doubts of the danger of introducing a new disease into the human system. The opinion which I gave to the Committee was supported by such proofs, in the answers sent to their enquiries and published in their Report, from Messrs.

* Will. Rinch, M. Solloway—*vide Report*.

Slater of Wycomb, Groves^{nor} of Oxford, Nooth of Bath, and Dr. Hope of Haslar Hospital, that what I have seen and heard since has only served to determine me not to be misled by the fashionable rage.

The steady and single opinion I have maintained in opposition to this practice, has brought me acquainted with some new Eruptions, Abscesses and Disorders, which I had not before observed; but these accidents are generally attributed to a *Spurious* sort of Cow Pox. This is a term I do not admit of; I know of no such thing as *Spurious* Small Pox, *Spurious* Lues Venerea, *Spurious* Scrofula. We are yet left unsatisfied as to the nature and origin of what is called Cow Pox. It is a disorder known only to the Cow Doctor in *dirty* dairies, though we are taught to play with it as a blessing revealed from Heaven to this enlightened age.

If I wished to corroborate the grounds for my doubts, I might mention an almost equally fashionable rage, which had seized too many of the faculty, previous to the appearance of Cow Pox, in favour of the Nitrous

Acid, as a remedy for the Venereal Disease. Mercury was no longer to be called in aid, and the press teemed with publications to prove the mistaken opinions of hospital Surgeons. This Novelty I resisted with equal firmness; here I was unwilling to give up *Experience for Experiment*, wanting nothing more safe or certain than Mercury, which for so many years, in the practice of so many competent Judges, had proved an Antidote to that malignant poison. The advocates for the Nitrous Acid are now no longer heard of, the books on the subject no longer regarded.

Sacrificing therefore every consideration to my actual Opinion, I have avoided the practice of Vaccination, but I have watched the result of it. I do not mean to enter into the proofs of its failures, or mistakes: Mr. Goldson has published some, in a very candid pamphlet—more are expected from another pen; and unless the first Projectors have something better to say, than what has yet been said, to reconcile the public mind to those Cases of Mr. Hodges' Children, in Fullward's Rents, Holborn; I shall continue firm in the opinion

I gave to the Committee of the House of Commons, THAT WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE COW POX IS NOT A PRESERVATIVE AGAINST THE NATURAL SMALL POX.

JOHN BIRCH.

Spring Gardens,
October, 1804.

ERRATUM.

Page 45, line 11, read page 41.

AN
EXAMINATION
OF
THAT PART OF THE EVIDENCE RELATIVE TO
COW-POX,
WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO THE COMMITTEE OF
The House of Commons,
BY TWO OF THE
SURGEONS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.

To which is added
A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR,
FROM
JOHN BIRCH, ESQ.

*Surgeon Extraordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of
Wales, &c. &c*

THE SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE favourable reception the first edition of this pamphlet has met with, and the change that has been made in the public mind with respect to Vaccination, lead me to think I have treated the argument with candour. The letter which is annexed to this edition, I have Mr. BIRCH's permission to print. I trust it will not be unacceptable. His sentiments of the inefficacy of Vaccination, have been uniform from its first introduction to the present period. Whenever he favours us with his reasons for dissenting from so many respectable members of the faculty, I am persuaded they will be found to be conclusive.

The confession of some advocates for Vaccination in the Medical Journals of the last month, evince the declining state of the practice. Sincerely do I hope that as the experiment is not found to answer, it will be no longer pursued.

W. R. ROGERS.

Hertfordshire Regiment.

AN
EXAMINATION
OF
THAT PART OF THE EVIDENCE RELATIVE
TO
COW-POX,
&c. &c.

THE mass of evidence which was produced before the committee of the House of Commons in favor of vaccination, did so influence the public mind, that all opposition to it has been borne down; and the faculty of physic having set the example of transferring it to their own children, has been considered as full proof of the superiority of the practice.

But so many subsequent circumstances have arisen, new in themselves, and contrary to that mass of evidence, and so much has been written on the subject without ascertaining any thing clearly, that surely, in some degree, to consider the report of that committee may not be improper nor ill-timed,

Let me be allowed to divide those who have given evidence on this subject into three classes :

Physicians, whose province (it will surely be conceded to me) is not to handle the lancet ;

Surgeons, to whose particular line of practice inoculation appertains ;

And Men-midwives, who are too much interested in the event to be considered fair evidence in the cause, according to a well-known dictum of the English law.

The College of Physicians, as a body, are of opinion—“ that, the practice of vaccination
 “ is perfectly safe when properly conducted,
 “ and highly deserving the encouragement
 “ of the public, on account of the ultimate
 “ great advantage expected from it, which
 “ can only be fully established by the ex-
 “ tended and successful experience of many
 “ years.”

Much of that caution, which should reside in so learned a body of men, is here apparent.

The College of Surgeons was never applied to for an opinion.

I wish, however, to consider the more prominent parts, which appear in the evidence of two gentlemen in that profession, who stand high in the public esteem, who have practised many years in the same hospital, who were educated under the same tutors, but whose opinions are directly in contradiction to each other upon the point in question; therefore one of them must be in an error.

“ Mr. BIRCH, member of the Royal College of Surgeons, surgeon to St. Thomas’s Hospital, and surgeon extraordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, has seen vaccine inoculation often, but has never practised it, and does not think that he has seen facts sufficient, under his own inspection, to form a positive judgment, having been frequently deceived by the reports of facts in other matters. A case occurred in St. Thomas’s Hospital of a child at the breast, the mother being admitted for fever, which proved to be small-

Vide Report of the Committee.

“ pox; the child was inoculated for the
 “ cow-pox (not by the witness, for he ob-
 “ jected to this new experiment) and went
 “ through the vaccine disorder satisfactorily
 “ in the opinion of *those who inoculated him*.
 “ After the small-pox had terminated in the
 “ mother, her child was taken very ill with
 “ fever; but on the appearance of eruption
 “ he grew better, and in that state they were
 “ dismissed. The witness saw the child
 “ afterwards, and believes that the eruption
 “ was no other than the small-pox, though
 “ it was called at that time an *hybrid* disease.
 “ He made no notes, nor can he recollect
 “ the day on which the eruption appeared;
 “ nor does he know that it was later than in
 “ the usual progress of the small-pox. Simi-
 “ lar circumstances occurring soon afterwards
 “ in the same hospital, in two cases, made
 “ it evident that patients, having previously
 “ received small-pox infection, were not
 “ secured from the consequences of it by
 “ vaccine inoculation: none of these cases
 “ were fatal. He has no doubt, that in the
 “ above cases, the patients were infected with
 “ small-pox previous to their inoculation with
 “ vaccine matter: but he is of opinion, that
 “ if they had been inoculated with small-pox

“ matter, they would have only had the
 “ inoculated sort of small-pox, and would
 “ have escaped the natural sort. His own
 “ practice in small-pox inoculation has *not**
 “ been extensive, but successful: out of
 “ more than two hundred whom he has ino-
 “ culated for small-pox, he never lost one.
 “ He has heard much of spurious cow-pox,
 “ and all the failures which have been talked
 “ of have been attributed to that. He knows
 “ no instance of a person, after having gone
 “ through the cow-pox, catching the small-
 “ pox upon being exposed to it.”

“ Mr. CLINE (to the splendor of whose
 “ talents, on many other occasions, I bow)
 “ member of the Royal College of Surgeons,
 “ and surgeon to St. Thomas’s Hospital,
 “ stated, that in July, 1798, he received
 “ some vaccine matter from Dr. Jenner,
 “ with which he inoculated a boy who had
 “ not had the small-pox; when he had gone
 “ through the stages of vaccine inoculation,
 “ he tried to infect him with small-pox by
 “ inoculation, but in vain; this circumstance,
 “ together with the communications he re-

* The omission of the word *not*, in Mr. Birch’s evidence,
 he desires may be rectified here.

“ceived from Dr. Jenner, produced the
 “strongest conviction in his mind of the
 “great utility of this practice, and he there-
 “fore recommended it strongly to all his
 “friends, amongst whom was Sir Walter
 “Farquhar; and he perfectly recollects the
 “conversation relative to the emolument
 “Dr. Jenner might derive from the practice
 “of vaccine inoculation; but Dr. Jenner at
 “that time declined settling in London.

“Mr. Cline looks upon it as the greatest
 “discovery ever made in the practice of
 “physic, for the preservation of the human
 “race, as the small-pox has been the most
 “destructive of all diseases. He was con-
 “sulted upon the case of a child of Mr.
 “Austin, at Clapton, with whom it was said
 “the cow-pox inoculation had failed; but
 “from particular enquiries of the parents
 “and nurse, he was perfectly convinced the
 “child had never received the vaccine dis-
 “ease; and this evidence Mr. Taylor, the
 “surgeon who inoculated it, confirmed. He
 “thinks that experience has sufficiently de-
 “monstrated that persons inoculated with
 “the cow-pox, are incapable of receiving the
 “small-pox; and he believes that in the

instances where the small-pox has been
 caught, and the patient has, before the
 coming out of the disease, been inoculated
 with the cow-pox, it mitigates the virulence
 of the small-pox. *The vaccine disease is*
not contagious, nor does it create any
blemish on the human frame; nor does it
excite scrophula, or any other disease, which
is sometimes the case with the inoculated
small-pox. In November, 1800, he per-
 formed the operation for the stone on
 William Bench, a child in Isaac's ward of
 St. Thomas's Hospital. In a few days
 after, hearing that this boy was in great
 danger of catching the small-pox, he
 directed that he should be inoculated
 with cow-pox matter, which took effect,
 and proceeded in the usual manner: but
 in thirteen days after this inoculation, a
 few eruptions appeared that seemed to be
 variolous. Admitting these eruptions were
 the true small-pox, the time of their ap-
 pearance shows the infection had been
 received before the child was inoculated
 with cow-pox matter; for the natural
 small-pox frequently does not appear until
 sixteen or eighteen days after the patient
 has been exposed to infection. A second

“ case was in November, 1801; the child of
 “ Mary Solloway, in Mary’s ward of the
 “ same hospital: this child was known to
 “ have been exposed to the infection of
 “ small-pox; and therefore the mother per-
 “ mitted it to be inoculated with cow-pox
 “ matter; but in four days after, the small-
 “ pox appeared, and the disease was very
 “ severe; however the child recovered. A
 “ third case was a patient of Dr. Lister’s,
 “ whose mother had the small-pox. In six
 “ days after the complaint had appeared in
 “ the mother, the child was inoculated with
 “ cow-pox matter, and the complaint from
 “ this inoculation proceeded as usual; but
 “ in about fifteen days a few eruptions ap-
 “ peared that were of a doubtful nature.”

From the most minute enquiry, these are
 all the cases which have occurred in St.
 Thomas’s Hospital, where variolous eruptions
 have succeeded the vaccine inoculation, in
 each of which there can be no doubt that the
 patients were exposed to the infection of
 small-pox previous to their being inoculated.

Mr. Birch having taught his pupils the
 maxim, that experience was preferable to ex-

periment, examines cautiously into facts before he gives them his assent, and therefore admits that his patient, Abraham Howard, should be vaccinated while at the breast of his mother, who was labouring under the natural small-pox; but he refrains doing the operation himself, that the experiment may be most unequivocally relied upon. The event, as he relates it, was, that the vaccine disease passed through its stages to the perfect satisfaction of his colleagues; but *that* being over, the child sickened, had fever and eruption, which he insists was the small-pox, although his colleagues, with equal firmness, maintained it was an hybrid eruption.*

Two more cases of vaccination in the same hospital, and followed by the same appearance, cleared up the dispute, and it was allowed that if the patient had caught the natural

* Dr. Woodville, physician to the Small-Pox Hospital, supposed the cow-pox, ingrafted on a patient who had been in the atmosphere of small-pox, would frequently be followed by an eruption of a mulish nature, different from small-pox, which he called the hybrid eruption. It was afterward discovered this was the real small-pox appearing after vaccination.

small-pox, the *vaccine* inoculation would not impede its progress.

Now, as it is agreed on all hands, that the inoculation of small-pox, under similar circumstances, would supersede and destroy the infection naturally received, Mr. Birch took his stand on this ground, and has ever since steadily and firmly maintained that on this account he was satisfied the experiment would not produce the results promised from it.

He named to the committee four practitioners in different parts of the kingdom, who in correspondence with him had related the failure of cases which had been vaccinated: these gentlemen were written to that night, and their answers are printed in the report, recounting four cases where the small-pox has appeared after vaccination.

Mr. Cline, on the other hand, asserts, that after trying the experiment in *one* case, he wished Dr. Jenner to settle in London, and communicated his success to several friends, and, upon his opinion alone, they immediately adopted his proposition, in particular Sir Walter Farquhar.

Mr. Cline is of opinion that it is the greatest discovery ever made, because the small-pox is the most destructive of all diseases. He proceeds to say, that it is *sufficiently* demonstrated, that persons who have been vaccinated can never receive the small-pox. He admits, with some reserve, the hospital cases quoted by Mr. Birch, but says the vaccine inoculation, even under such circumstances, though it does not supersede variolous infection, mitigates it; yet in the case of Mary Sollo-way's child, if I rightly understand him, Mr. C. states "*the disease to have been very severe, but that the child recovered.*" He further declares, the vaccine *creates no blemish, and does not excite scrophula, nor any other disease.*

The contradictory opinions of two such eminent surgeons did not pass unobserved by the committee—the answers returned to the letters of enquiry from Dr. Hope, Mr. Nooth, Mr. Grovesnor, and Mr. Slater—the case of Mary Dyer, of Old Sodbury—together with other opinions, created some doubt; notwithstanding which the committee declare three things (among others) which, if upon

enquiry they are found to be erroneous, may tend to invalidate that mass of evidence given in support of this new invented disease.

The first assertion is, that vaccine inoculation has never proved fatal in any one instance.

The second, that it does not excite other humors or disorders in the constitution.

And the third, that it not only is to be relied on as a perfect security against small-pox, but that if it becomes universal, it will absolutely eradicate and extinguish it.

First, I have only to regret, in contradiction to these benevolent *wishes* (rather than *deductions*) of the committee, that I can shew it has proved fatal in more instances than *one*:

That in others it has created a new and undescribed disease:

And that in several the small-pox has followed beyond any dispute.

The first fatal case which was made public was a patient at Islington; the arm ulcerated, and the patient died. Many of the faculty visited this case, among whom were (I am informed) Sir William Blizard and Mr. Cline.

The next was a patient at Clapham, and this is a well known case.

The third was the infant of Captain B. of the navy. And the last I shall mention was the child of Dr. Smyth Stewart, related by himself in a letter to Dr. Squirrell.

These cases were as favorably palliated and as ingeniously excused as they could be; but it is admitted *that each patient was punctured by a lancet infected with what is called cow-pox; each arm so punctured became inflamed and ulcerated, and each patient died.*

That of Captain B.'s infant was, for a short space of time, concealed; but the anguish of the parents soon caused a disclosure. I forbear, in this instance, to mention names, the practice so strongly patronized, and under the sanction of the legislative body, excuses every one from censure.

The number of children who have died of the natural small-pox, owing to their parents relying on the security of their having been vaccinated, might be added to the fatal catalogue, and be adduced as proofs that *vaccination does not mitigate the virulence of small-pox*. This number might be known by an advertisement; but here are enough to prove the experiment has been fatal in more than *one* instance.

The next point I am to endeavor to establish is, that a new disease, hitherto undescribed, is frequently produced by the inscription of this unnatural fluid into the human frame.

This disease shews itself under three forms.

An eruption, which appears on the face, as well as the body and limbs:

An hasty abscess, which contains a fluid dissimilar to any other, and

Glandular enlargements of the skin; at first the size of a pea, then growing knotty and hard, at length suppurating.

The eruption of the skin is the most frequent. It may be heard of in every parish in London—alas! in too many private families: it is not an *hybrid eruption*, but one *sui generis*.

Mr. Peers, perfumer in Jermyn Street, can exhibit a melancholy instance of it in one of his children.

Rebecca Latchfield, daughter of a workman at Mr. Banck's, Strand, the subject of the print annexed, was vaccinated when five months old, and the arms proceeded in the usual manner; about a month after a pimple was observed in the middle of her forehead, which was succeeded by several in the arms; at first they felt like peas, they gradually increased in size, and more appeared in the skin on different parts of the body. The child was carried to a surgeon when about twelve months old; he purged it with calomel, and directed the tincture of bark. As its health improved, the knobs advanced to suppuration; that on the forehead first matured, and was opened; some on the arm slowly followed.* The plate is made from a drawing

* This drawing was given to me by Mr. Birch.

of one arm only, the whole subject would appear disgusting ; but this case, I think, clearly demonstrates a *new disease of the skin*, not at all similar to scrophula, or any other disease I am acquainted with.

A servant belonging to Mr. East, Adelphi, had a child vaccinated while at the breast ; the progress of the pustule was regular ; about nine days after the scab formed, large superficial abscesses appeared on the nates, thighs, and body of the infant. They suppurated hastily, but the color of the skin was unlike what it is in common inflammation ; it was of a dusky bluish red ; the child suffered great pain. They were opened freely with a lancet ; their contents was a gelatinous, blue fluid, very similar to a solution of starch, and extremely offensive.

In the last place with grief (but confidently) I assert, that the great advantage which mankind was to have received from this discovery has not been attained, from it being no security, in numerous instances, against the infection of the natural small-pox.

Divers cases to prove this last assertion have been brought forward; but until Mr. Goldson published his they were concealed. Whenever the case pressed strongly, the vaccination was declared imperfect; the matter was taken too soon, or too late, or it was spurious, or the practitioner was informed he had yet a lesson to learn.

Before the committee had made their report, (*I believe I am accurate in saying*) the child of Matthew Montague, Esq. who had been vaccinated in the country, was put to the test of variolous infection. Several eminent practitioners visited the child while under the variolous eruption, and Dr. Denman declared it was not small-pox, because it turned on the sixth day; however, matter was taken from it, by Mr. Walker of St. James's Street, and two *children* of his coachman were infected by that matter with indisputable small-pox.

Dr. Croft saw these children who were inoculated from Mr. Montague's, and I learn he admitted they had the small-pox.

Mr. Gould, at an oyster warehouse in Bow Street, Covent Garden, had a child vaccinated at the Small-Pox Hospital about a year since, and the pustule was considered so perfect, that some were vaccinated from it. The latter end of last January; this child took the natural small-pox, at a time when it was laboring under the whooping cough; it had about 200 pustules, and the cough proceeded in its course.

The cases of Mr. Hodges's children, in Holborn, have been so accurately drawn up by a medical committee, and confessed indisputable, that I have only to remark, with surprize, how so many persons, pretending to know any thing about small-pox, should for a moment have doubted the nature of the disease.*

If Dr. Wollaston, to whom society (as I have heard it indeed observed) are not a little

* When so much difference of opinion prevailed among the faculty, whether it was or was not small-pox, it is surprizing that Mr. John Hunter's distinction of the slough, lining the bottom of the pustule, should not have been the object of the search.

indebted for a deliberate investigation of these cases, had signed the conclusion annexed to the account of them, we should have been all astonished; as he did not sign it, we are, I believe, all satisfied.

But the case, which above all others is the most conclusive, is that of Mr. Bowen's child, at Harrow, which, after being vaccinated, was submitted to the test of variolous inoculation three successive years, without producing any effect. On the fourth inoculation, small-pox was made to appear, and matter was taken from one of the pustules, with which another child was successfully inoculated.*

Here, then, is the instance of the child of a medical gentleman, one who heretofore was fully convinced of the security of vaccination, and who boldly submitted his own infant to the test of this experiment (viz. Whether vaccination was an antidote to the small-pox?) and this he repeated not once nor twice only, but a third and a fourth

* See Mr. Bowen's letter to Mr. Birch, in Dr. Moseley's *Lues Bovilla*.

time; at length the small-pox takes effect. Here we see the boasted security completely overthrown, and the practitioner, terrified at the event, judiciously putting to the trial all within his circuit, and succeeding in giving the small-pox to many who thought themselves secure from it, they having been previously vaccinated, as it is called.

These cases sounded a fresh alarm. Mr. Bowen was brought to London, and examined by Dr. Pearson and others: nothing could be more clear than the account he gave, or more convincing to those who were interested in investigating the truth.

It is unnecessary at present to bring forward more cases in order to establish the point I proposed: these are certainly sufficient to prove that the report made by the committee, from the mass of evidence they had examined, is not supported by experience, for I think we now demonstrate—

That Cow-pox has in more than one instance proved fatal.

That Cow-pox is productive of new ap-

pearances of disease, unknown before in the catalogue of human infirmities.

And that Cow-pox is not by any means to be depended on as a security against the natural small-pox.

Therefore, I conclude that one of these gentlemen is in an error, and I leave the reader to form his own judgment of their evidence.

The question, whether vaccination should be persisted in after what I have stated, comes next into consideration. The order from the medical boards to the surgeons of the army and navy is a matter of very material consequence on this point, and the public mind is so shaken by what has been done, and what is to be feared from it, that I with great diffidence venture to recommend those distinguished gentlemen, who guide and teach the profession of surgery, to consider seriously this matter before the practice of it is further pursued.

The inoculation of the small-pox, in the estimation of any one possessing common sen-

sibility, must boast a proud triumph over the cow-pox ; for the small-pox exposes the just feelings of the parent to only one conflict, and if not performed till two years after birth, the chances in favor of success are, under proper treatment, become almost a certainty. The change it produces in the absorbent system is in unison with nature ; by it destructive consequences are prevented, and the patient is left in perfect security that it cannot attack the system again ; a security which seems not to attach to the cow-pox ; and what the consequences may be of the revolution produced by cow-pox, when the absorbent system is attacked by scrophula, lues venerea, or cancer, time alone can discover.

When the cases of the Hodges' were established, several instances of the small-pox occurring a second time were brought forward ; but as Baron Dimsdale took so much pains to enquire into this circumstance, and never could satisfy himself that it had once occurred, I must quote his authority to support my disbelief of such a thing having ever happened: besides, when so many objections were made to inoculation for half a century, surely if this had ever occurred, the enemies

to the practice would not have been silent on the subject: yet we hear of no such instance (till now) brought forward.

One rational objection has been urged, I confess, against the inoculation of small-pox, that of spreading the infection, by exposing patients during the maturing process of it in public ways; but this is a practice never followed nor recommended by Baron Dimsdale: it is true, that during the febrile state of the eruption, he insists upon the necessity of external air; but the eruption being completed, his words are “all is over,” and from that time it was indeed his practice to keep the patient cool and temperate, not cold; for this purpose a well ventilated chamber, the cool side of the house, a yard, or a garden, were all he required. But I am satisfied his instructions have been misunderstood, and an observance of them would remedy the objection.

One of the striking proofs of the utility and advantage of small-pox inoculation was, in my humble opinion, the safety and certainty with which a whole district, a whole army, a ship's crew, or a regiment, might be insured

from the ravages of a pestilential disease, by the artificial method of inflicting it. In this instance art completely triumphs over nature; and I shall here beg to relate a remarkable occurrence, which will fully illustrate this advantage.

Captain Spranger, commander of His Majesty's ship *Crescent*, returning from the East Indies, took a Spanish brig, laden with slaves, many of whom were children from three years old to twelve: to his terror he discovered the natural small-pox had broke out on board this vessel, where much neglect and mismanagement of the disease were evident: the crew were landed on a small uninhabited island, near the Cape of Good Hope, and the sick began to recover surprizingly. This disorder is dreaded at the Cape as much as the plague is in Europe, of course he was directed to perform a strict quarantine, and on consultation with his surgeon he judged it expedient to direct that all the mariners on board the *Crescent*, as well as all persons on board the Spanish brig, who had never had the small-pox, should be inoculated; this was immediately done with complete success, every one so inoculated recovered, notwithstanding they were ill pre-

pared, from a long voyage and salt provisions; many of them were hardly sick at all. During his quarantine, he was obliged, by his instructions from the Admiralty, to detain an American vessel which fell in his way; he recommended to the captain to inoculate his crew, lest it should suffer from the infection: the Americans resisted this advice; but the captain being at length persuaded of the danger of the natural disease, and of the safety of inoculation, partly by constraint, and partly by consent, did inoculate as many of the crew as had not previously undergone the small-pox; here also the success was complete, and the favorable returns made to the governor, induced Lord Macartney to propose to the colony the introduction of inoculation; but his good intentions were frustrated by the prejudices of the people.

Now, I may fairly ask the advocates for vaccination, whether they are assured if cow-pox matter had been used, that the success would have been equal?

I believe there are many other places, beside St. Thomas's Hospital, where, upon trial, the small-pox has proceeded without a

check, and where inoculation was obliged to be had recourse to before the infection could be cleared away.

But as my rank in the profession does not entitle me to do more than recapitulate remarks, I shall here put an end to them, I trust, before I become either tedious or obtrusive, hoping that I have urged them with becoming decorum, and have offended no one in searching for the truth.

THE END.

A
LETTER
OCCASIONED BY THE MANY FAILURES OF
COW-POX,

FROM JOHN BIRCH, Esq.

Surgeon to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, &c.

ADDRESSED TO

W. R. ROGERS,

Author of the Examination of the Evidence before the
House of Commons, &c. &c.

TO MR. W. R. ROGERS,

Herts Regiment, Ipswich.

London, July 6, 1805.

DEAR SIR,

THE able, and dispassionate manner in which you have treated the argument concerning Vaccination, seems to have had its proper weight with the thinking part of mankind. I recommend you therefore to reprint your pamphlet. It cannot have too extensive a circulation. I wish it could be sent to every part of the globe in justification of English Surgery. Inoculation has hitherto been considered as distinctly the province of the Surgeon; the success of it, and the alleviation of its distressing symptoms depend on surgical treatment. It is a melancholy consideration therefore, to think that this branch of practice should be taken from those who alone ought to exercise it, and transferred to persons, some of whom are totally ignorant of our profession.

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The experiment of Vaccination has been carried on from the commencement, to the present period, with a degree of *art* which does not augur much in favour of the cause.

The number of persons adduced as supporting it when before the Committee of the House of Commons was forty; but the Public has not been told, that out of this forty, twenty three spoke from *hearsay* only, not from any knowledge they had acquired by practice, *while the three persons who spoke against it, corroborated their evidence by proofs.* Strong as this fact is, no one has taken notice of it.

When first Vaccination was recommended to me, it was announced authoratively to be an absolute security against Small-pox; but the experiment, when tried at St. Thomas's Hospital, failed; and there it was first discovered that in a variolous atmosphere it was not to be depended on.

This in the outset did not prove much in the favour of Vaccination; further difficulties arose from eruptions which appeared, too

often in the face; but these were obviated by saying, that observation had proved the vaccine matter to be divided into genuine and spurious, and that its good or ill success depended on the period at which it was taken: on a certain day it would prove innoxious and genuine; before and after that day it could not be depended on. Sometimes the cow was to blame, and sometimes the doctor.

Thus we were left to judge by the event. If the patient should die from the inflammation of the puncture, we might then conclude the matter was not genuine; if the apothecary plunged his lancet too deep, or the infant was not of a proper constitution, the experiment might be fatal. To reason thus was to insult humanity. Alas! how can the constitution of a child be ascertained, when only one month, or six months old? The failures which occurred instead of operating conviction, seemed but to change the theory of the system; new doctrines, new books, new instructions appeared every month. Even the first principle, of the origin of the disease, could not be settled. Dr. Jenner, traced it from the grease of the horses heel;

and the description he gave of it, was alone sufficient to frighten us from adopting it. But this notion was soon found to be erroneous, and it is now conjectured to belong to the cow ; yet after all, this animal poison is too mischievous for use, until it has been meliorated by passing through some human body, selected as the victim of the experiment.

But mere uncertainty was not the only evil attendant on Vaccination. New diseases occurred, as in the case, among others, of Rebecca Latchfield. It was studiously represented indeed that her affection was nothing more than common boils ; but the discriminating colour, the stony hardness, and the continued succession of the tumors, together with the painful sufferings of the afflicted child, marked the novelty of the disease. Many individuals, acknowledged this distinction the moment they saw her. As it is important, this case should be generally known, I have procured a drawing at full length of this unhappy little sufferer, which may hereafter be presented to the Public.

How far it was well judged, or politic, to direct our soldiers and seamen to become the subjects, whereon a doubtful experiment should be tried, I do not mean to enquire. At all events, it would have been more regular, and more to the interests of Society, as the experiment was surgical, to have consulted the College of Surgeons, and to have had their collected approbation, before a parliamentary reward was adjudged. In all cases where Parliament has neglected to do this, it has committed an error; as in the instance of Mrs. Stevens' medicine for dissolving the stone.

But was it not highly reprehensible to conceal industriously all the cases which occurred to the prejudice of Vaccination, while every thing that could tend to lessen the credit of Inoculation, was *most artfully* propagated?

The facts which you have adduced are so strong in themselves, and the authority on which they rest so incontrovertible, that they entirely subvert the data laid down by the Committee of the House of Commons. Yet the argument might have been treated in another way, and these questions asked.

I. Is there any disease consequent to Small-pox Inoculation which is not a natural disease, and which may not be produced equally by other exciting causes?

II. Does the puncture of Inoculation ever produce such an inflammation of the arm as to kill the patient?

III. Can the artificial introduction of variolous matter produce any disease but genuine Small-pox?

IV. Are not the symptoms of inoculated Small-pox, after two years old, generally as safe and as mild, as those of the kindest Vaccination?

V. Did the justly celebrated Baron Dimsdale, in his extensive practice, both abroad and at home, during the space of forty-five years, ever lose three of his patients?

I affirm that the negative must be replied to each of these questions. What then is there left for Vaccination to do, that may not be done more advantageously by Inoculation?

But the object of the projectors of Vaccination, was not I fear so much the desire of doing general good, as that of securing to themselves, and to Men-midwives, if the experiment should succeed, the absolute command of the nurseries, to the entire exclusion of the Surgeons.

This being really the state of the case, I must call it an unworthy expedient, to alarm the ignorant multitude with the dangers of Inoculation ; an enemy that had been laid at their feet by the firm and steady exertions, of the great and good Baron Dimsdale.

A monthly Medical Journal, which has spread the mischief of Vaccination widely, and which, till the last month, has been shut against every statement which could affect its credit, now acknowledges failure upon failure, attested by one practitioner after another. But we are little obliged for these tardy confessions, since the Public has been some time in possession of the facts, together with many others ; and they are now acknowledged, because they can no longer be concealed. I again affirm, that the Public are before hand with the Medical Journals ; they have in-

deed been too long misled by the charm of novelty, but they perceive their error; and they have loudly called out for regular Inoculation, to prevent the mischiefs of natural Small-pox, which has appeared epidemical in many places, and proved fatal in cases where Vaccination had been relied on.

I forbear to say more on this subject at present. I have collected materials enough to satisfy the Public of the validity of the reasons on which I have uniformly objected to the practice of Vaccination. That I should come forward, is a duty I owe both to them and myself. Should I contribute towards dispelling that mist of prejudice, which has obscured the judgment of many well-intentioned people, and many able practitioners, I shall have just cause to rejoice. To attempt to vindicate truth and expose error, is the noblest exertion of our faculties: to succeed in the attempt, is to obtain the most exalted gratification a reasonable being can desire.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

Spring Gardens,
July 6, 1805.

JOHN BIRCH.

P. S. Every post brings me accounts of the failures of Vaccination. From Hertfordshire, I have notice of four cases within the last month, two of which were fatal; but as I do not admit *Hearsay* Evidence, I must enquire more particularly before I publish them.—However, I have just seen a child in Orange Court, Swallow Street, vaccinated five years ago by a Man-midwife, who is not only the strongest advocate for Vaccination, but is considered to be one of its most skilful practitioners. By him this child was pronounced to have had the *genuine* sort; and so strong was his conviction of it, that he took matter from him to vaccinate many other patients with; yet, this very Child is now full of the *true*, not of the *supposed* Small-pox.

The mother says the Small-pox is not in the Court—and that the child has not been in the way of infection to her knowledge. Add this case to the confessions of the Monthly Journal, and to * Dr. Moseley's

* *Vide* Moseley on Lues Bovilla, 2d edit.

list, and what is the conclusion we are to draw? There is but one; namely, that Vaccination neither secures the patient from catching the Small-pox by variolous infection, nor when so caught, lessens the danger of disease. For my own part I tremble to think on the perils which await Society, from the prevalence of Vaccination. Unless it be stopped, we shall see Small-pox at no very distant period recur in all the terrors with which it was first surrounded; desolating cities like the plague, and sweeping thousands from the earth, who, lulled into a false security, will have fatally deprived themselves of the only proper means of defence.

FINIS.

